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23 May 1984

NEAR EAST/SOUTH ASIA REPORT

CONTENTS

ARAB AFRICA

EGYPT

- Opinion Poll Results Presage Wafd Victory
('Abd-al-Qadir Shuhayb; AL-TADAMUN, No 44, 11 Feb 84)..... 1
- Disunity Marks Opposition's Pre-Election Activities
('Abd-al-Qadir Shuhayb; AL-TADAMUN, No 47, 3 Mar 84)..... 4
- Results of Study on Egyptians Working Abroad
(AL-QABAS, 22 Mar 84)..... 8
- Dissension in Liberal Party Threatens Dissolution
(Samir 'Izzat; ROSE AL-YUSUF, No 2911, 26 Mar 84)..... 10

LIBYA

- Problems Caused by Qadhdhafi in Northern Africa Examined
(Paul Balta; LE MONDE, 22-23 Apr 84)..... 12
- Relations With Italy Reviewed
(Marc Semo; LE MONDE, 22-23 Apr 84)..... 16

MOROCCO

- Abdelmajid Choukaili on Role of Training Engineers
(Abdelmajid Choukaili Interview; LAMALIF, No 154,
Mar-Apr 84)..... 19

Current Problems, Future Hopes for Fishing Industry (Abu Bakir al-Sadiq al-Sharif; AL-TADAMUN, No 52, 7 Apr 84).....	32
General Secretary of Democratic Labor Confederation Interviewed (Noubair Amaoui Interview; AL-ITTIHAD AL-ISHTIRAKI, 14-16 Apr 84).....	34
Political Situation Analyzed by USFP (AL-ITTIHAD AL-ISHTIRAKI, 17 Apr 84).....	40

TUNISIA

Director General of National Security Service Interviewed (Zine El Abidine Ben Ali Interview; AL-SABAH, 19 Apr 84)...	46
--	----

WESTERN SAHARA

Saharan Ambassador Predicts Victory Despite Western Aid (Bulahe Mohamed Fadel Interview; BOHEMIA, No 13, 30 Mar 84).....	51
--	----

ARAB EAST/ISRAEL

KUWAIT

Controversy Over 'Private' Companies Discussed (AL-HAWADITH, No 1423, 10 Feb 84).....	56
Insurance Industry Investment Policies Discussed (AL-QABAS, 7 Mar 84).....	61
Refinery Upgrading Aimed at International Competition (Samir Yasin; AL-WATAN, 29 Mar 84).....	63
Steps To Revitalize Economy Taken (AL-TALI'AH, No 837, 11 Apr 84).....	66

LEBANON

Prices for Consumer Goods, Food Jump Sharply (Bahij Abu Ghanim; AL-NAHAR, 16 Apr 84).....	67
--	----

SAUDI ARABIA

Ousted Minister Discusses Creative Process, Poetry (Ghazi al-Qusaybi Interview; AL-MAJALLAH, No 216, 31 Mar-6 Apr 84).....	71
--	----

SYRIA

Various Achievements of Railway Organization Cited, Reviewed (AL-FURSAN, No 188, Nov 83).....	77
Massive Industrial Progress in Eastern Governorates Reviewed (Michel Khayyat; AL-BA'TH, 14 Mar 84).....	88

SOUTH ASIA

AFGHANISTAN

Soviet Panjshir Offensive Spreading to Rest of Country (Jacques Guilleme Brulon; LE FIGARO, 28-29 Apr 84).....	95
---	----

INDIA

Delegate Tells India's Stand on Waters Talks (THE STATESMAN, 30 Mar 84).....	99
Gandhi Inaugurates Muslim Educational Conference (THE HINDU, 31 Mar 84).....	100
Minerals, Metals Corporation Tells Export Plans (THE HINDU, 31 Mar 84).....	102
Gandhi Addresses Party Women, Dedicates Exchange (THE STATESMAN, 2 Apr 84).....	104
Report on Rao Speech at Lisbon Conference (THE STATESMAN, 10 Apr 84).....	106
Correspondent Reports Highlights of Import-Export Policy (THE HINDU, 13 Apr 84).....	108
Conference of Envoys to Southeast Asia Reported (G. K. Reddy; THE HINDU, 3 Apr 84).....	114
Press Reports Developments Concerning Sri Lanka (THE TIMES OF INDIA, 4 Apr 84; THE HINDU, 6 Apr 84).....	116
Rahim Statement in Lok Sabha G. K. Reddy Report	
Press Reports on Plans To Build Border Fence (THE HINDU, 5 Apr 84; THE STATESMAN, 9 Apr 84).....	119
Home Minister in Lok Sabha High Commissioner's Remarks	

Papers Report Developments in Defense Issues (Various sources, various dates).....	122
---	-----

Defense Ministry Admonished
 Wide-Ranging Defense Production
 More Defense Production Units
 Homemade Missile System, by Cecil Victor
 Electronic Warfare Improvements
 Light Combat Aircraft

Reportage on Department of Space Annual Report (PATRIOT, 6 Apr 84; THE STATESMAN, 11 Apr 84).....	128
--	-----

Critical Phase for India
 Products, Processes Developed

Press Reports Achievements in Joint Space Flight (THE STATESMAN, 7 Apr 84; PATRIOT, 7 Apr 84).....	130
---	-----

Remote Sensing Experiment
 Indian Official in Moscow

Briefs

Pakistan Arms Buildup	132
First Linear Accelerator	132
Letter From Khomeini	132
PLO Envoy	133
World Bank Aid	133
IDBI Loan Assistance	133
Southern Air Command	133
Remote Sensing Satellite	133
Cooperation With PRC	134
Weapons Ban Ratification	134
AITUC-PRC Visit Plans	134
Naga Extremists' Massacre	135
Republican President Dies	135
Loan for Railways	135
Antarctica Map	135
Eastern Naval Commander	136

IRAN

Former Navy Commander on Iran's Foreign, Domestic Policies (Ahmad Madani Interview; AL-MAJALLAH, No 216, 31 Mar 84).....	137
--	-----

SRI LANKA

National Unity Threatened by Civil Disturbances (Patrice Claude; LE MONDE, 21 Apr 84).....	147
---	-----

OPINION POLL RESULTS PRESAGE WAFD VICTORY

London AL-TADAMUN in Arabic No 44, 11 Feb 84 p 27

[Article by 'Abd-al-Qadir Shuhayb: "As New Parliamentary Elections Draw Near, Election Campaign Starts With Surprise"]

[Text] A big election surprise initiated the new People's Assembly campaign in Egypt. A number of experts in the National Center for Social Research, aided by experts from the al-Ahram Center for Strategic Studies, conducted an opinion poll about the political trends of Egyptian voters in order to project the outcome of the parliamentary elections. This poll, which involved 10,000 citizens, showed that the ruling National [Democratic] Party will not win any seats in the parliament because it only received 5 percent of the surveyed vote, whereas the electoral law stipulates that any party must receive 8 percent of the vote to be eligible for representation.

The outcome of the poll also showed that most opposition parties will not be able to win any seats in the Egyptian People's Assembly because they did not receive the mandatory 8 percent stipulated by the electoral law as a guarantee for parliamentary representation.

The Socialist Labor Party [SLP], which has the People's Assembly representation of all opposition parties in Egypt today, received only 3 percent and likewise the NPUG Party, while the Liberal Party received 2 percent. This means that any of these three parties, if the opinion poll findings are correct, will not be able to obtain parliamentary representation unless they unite under one slate in the upcoming elections.

But the biggest surprise unveiled by the opinion poll was that the Wafd received the highest percentage of votes, 38 percent, and other political currents so far not affiliated with political parties also received high percentages of the sample votes. The Nasirists received 26 percent while the Islamic Current and the Muslim Brotherhood got 15 percent, and 8 percent has no opinion.

If the results of the survey are correct, this means that no existing political party in Egypt will be able to form a government by itself and it will be necessary to form a coalition government so long as no party is able to win a majority vote in the election.

Some observers believe that the results of the opinion poll, which was conducted under the supervision of Sayyid Yasin, director of the al-Ahram Center for Strategic Studies, have raised fear in the ranks of the NDP, which was certain that it would receive a majority vote in the upcoming parliamentary elections. These fears were reinforced by the sharp drop in the number of votes the party received in the recent Shura Council elections, a drop that amounted to about 50 percent.

Therefore, these observers believe that, because of such fears, the NDP leaders resorted to President Husni Mubarak, asking him for his assistance and support in the election campaign.

These observers interpret President Mubarak's recent statements, during his meeting with NDP leaders, as a kind of assistance and support for the ruling party and point to increased assistance by President Mubarak in the future. He said in these statements: "The National Party is the party of true patriotism" and "I am the head of the National Party and shall continue to carry the banner of the party's leadership and principles. I hope no one will believe rumors circulating from time to time about my leaving the party leadership."

He also said: "I shall go personally with you to visit the governorates and inspect completed projects."

He then pointed to frequent talk inside Egypt about American moral and tacit support for the "Wafd" Party, saying: "Egypt will not be a theatre for the struggle of any foreign forces that are trying to influence democratic practice. Our special relations with the great powers are not at the expense of Egypt's dignity and the honor of its people. Our relations are governed by the Egyptian will and we do not allow anyone to infringe upon our sovereignty in any way."

It is common knowledge that Egypt is not bound by any special relations to any great power save for the U.S. which is the one circulating rumors inside Egypt about its moral support for the Wafd Party, whose chief declared his support for such special relations. And here is President Mubarak declaring his rejection of this support! Perhaps this is what spurred President Mubarak, according to these observers, to declare his clear and direct support for the ruling NDP in the upcoming elections.

There is another group of observers, however, who believe that the opinion poll conducted by experts from the National Research Center and the al-Ahram Center for Strategic Studies has many faults and does not represent the true outcome of the upcoming elections.

The poll involved a select sample of urban dwellers and did not include rural representatives. It also asked about the partisan leanings of the people surveyed rather than their positions and choice of candidates during the elections. A case in point is that more than one-fifth (41 percent) of the people surveyed voted for the Nasirists and the Muslim Brotherhood, both political currents with no parties of their own.

Hence, the outcome of this opinion poll must not be relied upon too much in projecting the results of the parliamentary elections. A third group of observers

in Egypt believes that the NDP leaders were happier than anyone else with the poll's results which showed their party receiving only 5 percent of the vote. Perhaps this outcome was intentional in the first place in an effort to persuade President Mubarak to adopt practical and positive positions to back the ruling National Party in the parliamentary elections. This is exactly what a leader of an opposition party in Egypt confirmed to AL-TADAMUN. Generally, all these opinions confirm that the election campaign is actually under way and that it began with a surprise, no matter how realistic it may be.

12502

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DISUNITY MARKS OPPOSITION'S PRE-ELECTION ACTIVITIES

London AL-TADAMUN in Arabic No 47, 3 Mar 84 pp 20-21

[Article by 'Abd-al-Qadir Shuhayb: "Bold Deeds in Attempts to Polarize Parties. Labor Party Talks With Nasirists, The Wafd Includes Religious Current and the Grouping Flirts With Liberals"]

[Text] A reading of the partisan map in Egypt on the eve of the election campaign clearly points to strong polarization attempts going on between various parties at a time when the alliances among opposition parties is disintegrating.

The election campaign in Egypt is actually underway although the nomination door for the upcoming parliamentary elections has not been opened and the regulation to implement the law regulating these elections has not yet been issued. All political parties and forces have begun organizing their ranks to enter this campaign and to guarantee success in it. This is the first election campaign in Egypt's parliamentary life to take place on the basis of election by proportional slates and party slates only, and not on the basis of the individual elections system which has been in force since the creation of the first parliament in Egypt.

In view of the new electoral law's stipulation that each party must receive a minimum of 8 percent of the votes cast to win representation in parliament, every party in Egypt is now seeking to attract new elements to bolster it or complement its slates. Furthermore, the new electoral law does not permit individual candidates outside the slates of any party. Hence, the current Egyptian parties are vying for all those who wished to run as independents before this law was promulgated.

At the same time, the Parties Committee [of the People's Assembly] in Egypt in recent months did not approve the formation of two new parties, the Nasirist Party and the National Front Party, which, it seems, will not have a change to obtain the legal status necessary for their establishment before the parliamentary elections next May. Therefore, the existing parties are competing for the inclusion of Nasirist Party or National Front Party members in their electoral slates.

Nevertheless, every established party in Egypt is concentrating its efforts on a specific political current to the exclusion of other currents with a view to

bolstering its ranks with representatives from it. The Socialist Labor Party [SLP], the largest opposition party before the return of the Wafd, is preoccupied with trying to stand out from the rest of the established parties, specifically the Wafd and the National Grouping [NPUG], by concentrating on the party program's socialist content in order to emphasize its progressiveness with regard to the Wafd party while concentrating on the Islamic Shari'ah and the belief in God and religion to highlight its distinction from and differences with the Grouping Party.

In this connection, the party is seeking to lure the Nasirists to run for the upcoming elections on its electoral slates. Although Kamal Ahmad, leader of the Nasirist Party, to whom the Parties Committee objected, denied that he was a candidate on the party's slates, party leaders know full well that neither he nor his anticipated party represents all the Nasirists since there are other Nasirist groups who did not participate in nor support the party's founding. What is more, they do not even recognize it and may extend their hand to the Labor Party. Furthermore, the Labor Party leaders feel that Kamal Ahmad himself may back off from his position and agree to cooperate with them in the elections.

The striking thing is that the SLP is turning to the Nasirists at a time when it has within it a current going back in origin to "Misr al-Fatah" [Young Egypt] that does not welcome them nor has any wish to cooperate with them. Rather, it always objected to any celebration connected with 'Abd-al-Nasir and the Nasirists.

As for the Wafd Party, so far it has succeeded in attracting many prominent elements of the religious current, such as religious leaders inside as well as outside the People's Assembly, to the degree that it turned over the chairmanship of its parliamentary body to a representative of this current, Shaykh Salah Abu Isma'il. Party leader Fu'ad Siraj-al-Din aligned himself with Salah Abu Ismail in a debate between him and Dr Faraj Fudah, a Wafd founder, about the application of the Islamic Shari'ah and the possibilities of a struggle between the Brotherhood and the Wafd, a move that prompted Dr Faraj Fudah to resign from the party, the first resignation to be submitted after the resumption of its activities. It is curious that the success of the Wafd Party in attracting many religious current elements has angered the leader of the very small "al-Ummah" Party which wanted their support for his own party under the pretext that he raises and defends the Islamic Shari'ah banner.

On another level and within the framework of analyzing the political and electoral map in Egypt, it is noted that the alliance which was formed several months ago among Egyptian opposition parties and which succeeded in organizing a comprehensive boycott of Shura Council elections, in which only the ruling NDP participated, has broken up. The activities of the National Committee for the Defense of Democracy and Freedom have been disrupted, notwithstanding the fact that it was created primarily to organize and coordinate an alliance among opposition parties, specifically during the upcoming parliamentary elections. Furthermore, the holding of the first joint popular conference of opposition parties failed because of the withdrawal of the Wafd Party, followed by the SLP and then the NPUG.

This notwithstanding, the National Committee for the Defense of Freedoms maintained a reasonable measure of cohesion and kept up its weekly meetings, as agreed among its members, because of the close date of the new parliamentary elections.

With time however, differences among its members began spreading and widening when the Liberal Party failed to persuade the other opposition parties to run for the parliamentary elections on one joint slate. The Wafd Party, followed by the NPUG, opposed this idea clearly and openly so that its practical application would not lead to the liquidation of all the opposition parties in favor of one party that would have the unified slate.

Even the mere idea of coordination among opposition parties, urgently called for by the SLP, failed because of the Wafd Party's veto and determination to submit slates in electoral districts without consulting with the other opposition parties or without regard for some of their candidates, even if they were their leaders! The Wafd Party believes that it stands to gain nothing from such coordination and may have something to lose because its leaders believe that they are slated to receive one-third of the vote and, consequently, to become the number two opposition party behind the new ruling NDP.

Therefore, perhaps there is some significance to the request submitted by Shaykh Salah Abu Isma'il, chairman of the Wafd Party's parliamentary body in the current People's Assembly, to its president to be given the title of opposition leader instead of SLP leader Eng Ibrahim Shukri because the Wafd Party has more deputies than the SLP now that a number of deputies have joined the former while other deputies have resigned from the latter.

Nonetheless, there remained some agreement among the members of the Committee for the Defense of Freedoms, notably the agreement over the idea to hold a popular conference at al-Jumhuriyah Square in Cairo. The committee in fact started preparing for such a conference over the objection of the authorities. A preparatory committee was formed to prepare for it and to follow up legal proceedings the committee filed against the interior ministry for refusing to issue a permit for the conference until the case was won. The conference was subsequently postponed in order to better prepare for it. However, the Wafd Party refused to participate in it, then changed its mind and agreed following the mediation of SLP leader Eng Ibrahim Shukri and after setting what other committee forces regarded as stern conditions for its participation. The Wafdists demanded that participation be confined to the four opposition parties only--the SLP, the NPUG, the Liberal Party and the Wafd Party--to the exclusion of what they called the irresponsible forces such as the "al-Ummah" Party, the al-Tali'ah al-Wafdiyyah Party [the Wafd Vanguard Party] and the Nasirists and some communist representatives as well.

Then obstacles followed one after the other. Despite the fact that the committee commissioned Ibrahim Shukri to open discussions with the interior minister with a view to reaching a specific agreement concerning the holding of the conference, Mustafa Kamil Murad rejected the agreement the SLP leader had reached with the interior minister concerning holding the conference at the Agricultural Credit Bank hall instead of al-Jumhuriyah Square. Committee members had expressed their readiness to accept such a proposal. The Liberal Party leader

insisted on the idea of holding it at al-Jumhuriyah Square, then announced its postponement, prompting the withdrawal of the SLP, followed by the NPUG, which pulled out in solidarity with it. The joint conference failed and the opposition party alliance cracked.

Thus, with the approach of parliamentary elections, the partisan and electoral map in Egypt is being subjected to extensive changes. The above presentation shows that the most important indicators of these changes are represented in the return of the Wafd, the ensuing attempts to polarize the parties and the disagreements shaking the opposition parties and the resulting disintegration of existing alliances. But the only thing that will determine how much change the Egyptian political map will undergo is what happens the night of the elections.

12502

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RESULTS OF STUDY ON EGYPTIANS WORKING ABROAD

Kuwait AL-QABAS in Arabic 22 Mar 84 p 13

[Article: "Study on Egyptian Emigration; 3 Million Egyptians working Abroad--Why?"]

[Text] The number of Egyptians working abroad has grown over the years. Recent statistics show the total number of Egyptians working abroad to be over 3 million, the great majority of whom are in peninsula and Arab Gulf countries, while the rest are in other Arab and foreign countries.

The Ministry of Emigration and Egyptians Abroad Affairs estimates that Egyptian labor in Arab countries is distributed as follows: Kuwait, 200,000; Iraq, 1,250,000; Saudi Arabia, 800,000; Libya, 300,000; Algeria, 35,000; UAE, 150,000; Jordan, 125,000; Qatar, 25,000; Sudan, 20,000; Syria, 15,000; Sultanate of Oman, 11,500; North Yemen, 12,000; and Mauritania, 120,000.

Travel--Why?

A research team from the public opinion polling agency of the National Centre for Criminal Research in Egypt conducted a general survey about the trend to work in Arab countries in which a number of center researcher, headed by Muna Yusuf and Samihah Nasr, participated.

The survey dealt with a sampling of 726 individuals representing various groups.

The research found that 52 percent of those surveyed were professionals, independent businessmen or holders of intermediate diplomas, while 17 percent were unemployed.

Only 18 percent of those surveyed had had overseas travel experience while the rest had never been outside the country. Forty-three percent supported the idea of working in Arab countries while 55 percent opposed it.

The poll showed that 80 percent of those who agreed to travel abroad cited raising their standard of living or building their future as their reasons for approval.

As for the reasons for not going abroad, they were due to the desire not to be away from the family and the homeland or fears of an uncertain life.

Saudi First

The order of preference among Arab countries was: 52 percent prefer to go to Saudi Arabia, 14 percent to Kuwait, 8 percent to the UAE and 5 percent to Libya.

The reasons for preferring one country over another were due to higher salaries and wages, good official relations with Egypt or the need for specializaitons.

Sixty-three percent who preferred travel to Saudi Arabia said they picked this country to perform the pilgrimage [while working there]. Professionals headed those who expressed a willingness to travel, followed by independent businessmen, then management personnel.

It was noted that those who approved of travel ranged in age from 35 to 45, while those opposed were in the 45 to 70 age group.

It was also shown that the lowest percentile of opposers was among the holders of higher diplomas, 40 percent, while the highest percentile was among the illiterates, 64 percent. However, opposition among those who can read and write was 52 percent, which is lower than among intermediate diploma holders, 56 percent, and those holding less than intermediate diplomas, 57 percent.

The survey confirmed that the economic factor was the overriding motivation for travel to Arab countries. Raising the standard of living and securing a suitable life were behind the vision of those surveyed regarding the benefits they hoped to get from travel or how they were going to spend the money they saved from working abroad.

The survey also confirmed the role of the religious factor in influencing individual trends towards work in Arab countries. Analysis showed that 63 percent chose Saudi Arabia in order to perform the pilgrimage and the minor pilgrimage.

12502

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DISSENSION IN LIBERAL PARTY THREATENS DISSOLUTION

Cairo ROSE AL-YUSUF in Arabic No 2911, 26 Mar 84 pp 10-11

[Article by Samir 'Izzat: "Liberal Party Crisis-Resignation of Maj Gen Salah-al-Din al-Rifa'i Sets Off Bombs in Liberal Party"]

[Text] No sooner had the party's vice-president submitted his resignation than silence mixed with worry settled over the fourth and fifth floors of 19 al-Jumhuriya Street and Mustafa Murad was forced to leave his many commercial enterprises to convene an urgent meeting of the general secretariat to discuss the situation in the wake of the resignation.

During the meeting, the Liberal Party leader confirmed that his party was running for the upcoming elections over the disavowal of some.

He meant Maj General al-Rifa'i, Muhammad 'Abd-al-Ahafi, former party deputy, and Ulfat Kamil, head of the party's parliamentary group, who submitted their resignations from the party at the darkest of moments.

Before the party leader broached the subject of the recent wave of resignations, he was interrupted by young Eng Muhammad Farid Zakariyah, recently-elected member of the general secretariat, who said:

"Before discussing this subject, I must remind you that Maj General al-Rifa'i submitted his resignation because he had had enough after the party failed to win the approval of anyone due to the behavior of some who are using the party for their own benefit. Furthermore, the party leader, because of his many business problems, gave free rein to some leaders who used this freedom in the ugliest way, looking out not so much for the party's interests as for their own personal gain. One of them is Mahmud Fawzi, number one master and autocrat of AL-AHRAR newspaper, under the pretext that he is the cousin of the party leader. I beg you to look at yourselves before calling Maj General al-Rifa'i to account."

Maj General al-Rifa'i disclosed the reasons for his resignation by saying, "The party does not have grass root bases. AL-AHRAR is no more than a newspaper issuing a party, as Musa Sabri always says. It does not express the party's policy, but reflects a frame of mind. Its editor-in-chief, Wahid Ghazi, all of a sudden has been seized with the urge to write theatrical plays, so he used the newspaper to practice his new hobby, like the story of "Madame Salatah" which expresses his innermost feelings."

Al-Rifa'i also revealed that he submitted his resignation after AL-AHRAR was turned into "gangs and cliques," each looking for personal gain. "Suffice it to mention that an editor receives a monthly wage of over 500 Egyptian pounds, although she has not received her high school diploma, but the editor-in-chief took her under his wing and encouraged her until she recently won membership in the journalists syndicate. How, I don't know?!"

The former party vice-president explained that the two remaining newspapers published by the party are AL-NUR AL-ISLAMIYAH and SHABAB AL-AHRAR whose state of affairs does not delight anyone anymore. The former depends on an annual play contrived by al-Hamzah Da'bas, chairman of its board, called "Pilgrimage Via the Party." He gets large amounts of money each year which he lavishes on the newspaper. Consequently, the "pilgrimage" is turned into a purely "commercial" enterprise ruled by the logic of gain and loss.

As for AL-SHABAB newspaper, Maj General al-Rifa'i went on to say that Mustafa Kamil Murad has picked a 24-year old Arabic-language student at al-Azhar University who knows nothing about journalism as its board chairman and designated member. He issued a decision for himself to receive a monthly salary of 300 pounds, and the party leader approved this decision!

Salah al-Rifa'i added that "more than once he asked that a general secretariat member be chosen as the newspaper's board chairman, but this proposal did not meet with the party leader's approval, thus turning the newspaper into a propaganda vehicle for the student and his father, the former party secretary for Sawhaj Governorate. This led to the defection of the young elements from the party because they say the party is being dominated by people less qualified than they are, such as Dr Wahid Sadiq, Eng Mamduh al-Ghannam, Muhammad al-Rubi and others."

Salah al-Rifa'i confirmed that the party's vehicles were distributed without his knowledge and he will not accept being a "dunce" in a party to which he has offered many sacrifices.

In the face of Maj General al-Rifa'i's charges, Mustafa Kamil Murad could not but issue a decision dismissing al-Rifa'i from the party and replacing him temporarily with Dr Muhammad 'Awni Yasin, professor of humanities at al Zaqaziq Fine Arts College, pending the general secretariat's approval.

The party leader is doing all he can to reunite the party and attract a number of his friends to it. He often says that a number of eminent public figures with a political past will join the party and run for the upcoming elections on the "modified" liberal party slates. Mustafa Kamil Murad has not yet succeeded in persuading "Ali al-Fuli, former editor-in-chief of MENA, to run for election. Hence, the Liberal Party is in an unenviable position, a situation that can be remedied only if the party dissolves itself--as political observers confirm--particularly since its chances for success are very slim and it is running after a delusion expressed in its proposal to the Shura Council to assign the remaining seats to the party that receives the highest fractional percentage rather than to the party that received a majority within the district.

The question being raised now is: Will the Liberal Party dissolve itself?

This question, dear reader, will be answered in the next few days!

PROBLEMS CAUSED BY QADHDHAFI IN NORTHERN AFRICA EXAMINED

Paris LE MONDE in French 22-23 Apr 84 pp 1, 4

[Article by Paul Balta: "The 'Qadhdhafi Style': From London to the Maghreb, the Art of Negotiating With a Troublemaker"]

[Text] The siege of the Libyan "People's Bureau" by British police continued Saturday in London. The bomb explosion that had injured 22 people the night before at Heathrow Airport added to the tension between the two countries, although British authorities are refusing to enter into any speculation as to who was behind that attack.

"In the years following his accession to power in 1969, Col Muammar al-Qadhdhafi baffled or irritated his neighbors with his political idealism and his determination to form 'unions' or 'mergers' with them at any price. For the past decade, no doubt disappointed by his failures on the unitary path, he has been frightening them with his cynicism and capriciousness. Whether this was an effort to get revenge for the rejections he had suffered or to satisfy his territorial and ideological ambitions, he no longer hesitates to overturn his alliances in order to abort initiatives that get away from him, destabilize regimes that resist him, hamper the regional groupings that are not directly in his sphere of influence," a Tunisian official said recently.

Except for a few slight differences, the same language is also being employed by the Mauritaniens, Malians, Nigeriens, Algeriens, Egyptiens and Sudanese and even yesterday was used in public by Moroccans and Saudis. The meeting a year ago between King Hassan II and President Chadli Bendjedid, on 26 February, was the start of a rapprochement between Algeria and Morocco, and aroused great hopes. In fact, it opened the way to a political settlement of the conflict in the Western Sahara that is likely ultimately to favor the building of a "Greater Maghreb," federated or confederated, which would constitute an area of stability in the Western Mediterranean. But the scene has changed again, from rosy to gray.

The sovereign, who is attentive to the moods of the Libyan agitator, had noted with interested satisfaction the deteriorating relations between Algiers and Tripoli, which were formerly united in the Refusal Front and in their support of

the Polisario Front. The Libyan "guide of the revolution" accuses Boumediene's successor of having deprived him of the presidency of the OAU at the 19th summit in Addis Ababa last June by coming out in favor of the election of the Ethiopian, Col Mengistu, and of having taken advantage of his political influence over the Polisario Front, while Libya was furnishing Mengistu 80 percent of the aid he needed--especially sophisticated weapons--, of having "deserted" the Refusal Front, of supporting Yassir Arafat, whom Qadhdhafi considers his "personal enemy," of "turning his back on the revolution" by maintaining good relations with a France that opposes his claims to Chad.

He also accuses President Chadli of refusing to return to Libya a portion of territory it is demanding. That border difference of opinion, which is poisoning bilateral relations, gave rise to a "violent discussion" between the two men in 1982. Col Qadhdhafi then "ordered" the assassination of the Algerian head of state, as recently revealed by Aziz Umar Shunagb, the former Libyan ambassador to Amman, in the opposition journal LE SALUT. The diplomat resigned in July 1983, explaining that Tripoli had commanded him "to execute" King Hussein.

Hassan II, who is a shrewd maneuverer, therefore mounted a production last summer, the purpose of which was to reconcile with the head of the Jamahiriya, with whom he had been on bad terms since 1969. Pretending he was getting ready to send troops to Chad, he dispatched an emissary to Col Qadhdhafi to propose that Rabat would give up furnishing the military support to Hisseyn Habre if Tripoli would stop aiding the Saharans (LE MONDE, 28 February). But since that bargain, which gave him a respite, was concluded, the monarch has now come around to wondering if it was not the Libyan who got the better part of the deal.

Isolated in the Near East, Col Qadhdhafi was also in danger of being isolated in the Maghreb after the signing of the Algerian-Tunisian treaty of fraternity and concord (19 March 1983), which Mauritania joined (13 December). He also reconciled with Saudi Arabia by going to Riyadh (8 to 12 June 1983) before he went to Rabat (30 June-4 July). This dual rapprochement permitted him, according to AFRIQUE-ASIE, in exchange for several Moroccan opponents delivered to the Sharifian sovereign, to "recover," in November 1983, his most determined adversary, Maj Umer al-Muhay, the number three man in the Libyan revolution, who had been living in exile in Cairo since 1975. Believing that he was going from Rabat to Riyadh in a royal airplane, the Libyan opponent found himself back in Sidra. In any case, he has since disappeared, like Imam Moussa Sadr, who was probably eliminated by the Libyan secret service. For their part, Tunisian officials confirm that Col Qadhdhafi had proposed to a former minister that the Youssefist opponent, Brahim Tobbal--who had settled in Algiers and was a friend of Mr Arafat--be traded for al-Muhay when he was in Tunisia. But Mr Tobbal, who was suspicious, did not let himself be lured into Tripoli's ambush.

An "Opportunist" and "Adventurist"

Libya is of course supplying Morocco with oil under advantageous conditions, but the projected cooperation resulting from a recent meeting of the Joint Commission has proved to be less interesting than was expected by Moroccan businessmen who were disappointed in their first exploratory trip to Tripoli. Moreover, while Col Qadhdhafi proclaims with humiliating arrogance that he reconciled with Morocco only "to save a brother people from destitution," Rabat is anxiously

wondering if the 14,000 Moroccan workers welcomed by Libya will not come home transformed into opponents or commandos, as have many Tunisian emigrants.

The Moroccans are also discovering that Libya has taken advantage of its new alliance to thwart Algerian policy, without for all that giving up providing aid to the Polisario Front. Conversely, several of the states of black Africa are taking a harsh attitude toward the rapprochement with the "devil" and are remaining aloof from Moroccan theories as to "recovering the Saharan provinces." Hisseyn Habre is even said to be tempted to recognize the Saharan Democratic Arab Republic. One sign of the existence of malaise: Hassan II's visit to Tripoli, planned for some time in February, was postponed twice and no longer seems to be on the agenda.

How can anyone actually not know about the threats Libya is holding over the heads of its neighbors, some of whom are friends or allies of Morocco? Having a great deal of revenue at his disposal and only a few mouths to feed, Col Qadhdhafi enjoys plenty of room to maneuver. Also, he finds himself accused of supporting terrorists, forming commando squads capable of destabilizing weak regimes and using subversion to hamper the strongest regimes. Privately, the Algerians, who were his allies yesterday, bluntly accuse him of being an "opportunist," an "adventurist" and an "expansionist."

Officially, relations between Tripoli and Tunis are "good." In practice, they are quite different. The pressure exerted on Tunisia by Libya is constant and occurs at all levels. The recent execution in Tunis of two people convicted of espionage and high treason illustrates the climate of distrust that prevails between the two capitals (LE MONDE, 15 March). In fact we have learned that one of the two condemned persons was a Tunisian from the information service and the other was a Libyan. But Tripoli has not protested.

Nouakchott Threatened

According to the first official version, the Tunisian delivered to his agent the ministry of the interior's documentation of the opposition's movements in Tunisia. But another version, though it does not rule out the first one, has been given to us by an excellent source. Last fall, the Tunisian authorities succeeded in infiltrating "moles" into Libyan training camps. Shortly thereafter, one of these "clandestine people" met his death in a road accident. Then, several days later, another was killed in a brawl. They were "given" by the Tunisian civil servant to the Libyan agent. It is being said in political circles that the execution of the two men is a discreet "warning" to Tripoli. For the Libyans are recruiting or infiltrating agents in all sectors, from information to the army.

Mauritania--like Niger or Mali yesterday--is no longer sheltered from subversion, which is capable of taking on the outward appearance of militants fighting "legitimately" for "Arab nationalism," which means "Qadhdhafist" nationalism. Nouakchott has just announced the arrest of 10 persons--including the general secretary of the General Union of Mauritanian Workers, Mr El Kory O. Hmeitti--, who are accused of being behind the school agitation that developed in the past several weeks. During an investigation into the activities of "Libyan elements" these persons were found to be in possession of documents proving their connection with Libya in a plan to destabilize Mauritania.

Whether it is real and public or vague and secret--and even though it sometimes is used as an alibi for regimes in trouble--, Libyan activism finds itself accused by its neighbors of causing an unhealthy climate to prevail in northern Africa. It is forcing governments to devote considerable amounts of money to defending and protecting themselves, instead of to development. Accused of being "servants of imperialism," such states make their major mistake when they reject Libyan "guardianship" in the proposed form of a "union" or "alliance." For their part, the Algerians, who are showing their displeasure at seeing some of those states moving closer to them, believe the present situation has blocked the process of a negotiated solution to the Saharan conflict and is causing new threats to hang over the OAU.

Nor is Paris far from thinking the same thing. The position of neutrality adopted by France in this affair is becoming rather uncomfortable, because of the Chadian conflict and the new alliances. Officials of different parties--the majority and the opposition--who in the past had demonstrated understanding and even sympathy for Col Qadhdhafi's nationalism, today condemn, in the words of one of them, "a policy that is increasingly founded on terrorist action, subversion and the fait accompli."

8946

CSO: 4519/160

RELATIONS WITH ITALY REVIEWED

Paris LE MONDE in French 22-23 Apr 84 p 4

[Article by Marc Semo: "In Italy: A Subtle Mixture of Intimidation and Seduction"]

[Text] The bloody shoot-out that occurred this week around the Libyan "People's Bureau" in London precipitated a major crisis between Great Britain and Tripoli. Col Qadhdhafi once more made himself the accuser rather than the accused and is proclaiming that the "English army" opened fire. The Foreign Office will need all the composure it is credited with to negotiate with this strange partner. In Europe, the Near East and the Maghreb they are beginning to get used to this leader, who for 15 years has practiced most peculiar methods.

Rome--There are many exiled Libyans who fled Italy several years ago for Egypt, Great Britain or the United States. Whether it was shortly before Col Qadhdhafi seized power or after the nationalization measures of the late 1970s that they sought refuge in large numbers from the former colonial power (which occupied Libya from 1911 to 1942), today they consider Rome an especially dangerous place. "The Italian secret service bears the responsibility for many acts of complicity with the Tripoli regime. In Italy, none of the killers of Libyan refugees has actually paid for his crimes;" so said, in the Egyptian weekly MAYU in January 1983, the leader of the National Front for the Safety of Libya, Yusuf Magaryab. The former presiding judge of the Revenue Court and former ambassador to the Indies had himself narrowly escaped death. He was in fact the target of the commando squad that opened fire on the Rome airport on 24 January 1981 with shouts of "Qadhdhafi, Qadhdhafi," seriously injuring two persons. It was the latest in a series of assassination attempts in Italy between March and June 1980, which cost the lives of four wealthy merchants--a fifth was very seriously wounded--who were guilty of having fled Libya with all their goods. These "warning" executions, which were deliberately spectacular and were carried out by agents of the revolutionary committees, were meant to persuade emigrants to "return to the country with everything they stole from the Libyan people."

Since those mass murders, Italy has been almost entirely spared because of the settling of those accounts. The last Libyan victim of an assassination attempt

in Rome, unlike Tripoli's "ambassador," Mustafa al-Tagazi, fell under the bullets of an anti-Qadhdhafi commando squad. The fear remains, however, all the more so because some of the exiles are saying that the secret agreements with Tripoli authorities--quite similar to those of 10 years ago between Gen Miceli's secret service and the Palestinian organizations--are the explanation for the apparent tranquillity currently enjoyed in Italian territory. In 1971, moreover, Gen Miceli's service (which was to be dissolved 4 years later) foiled an attempted coup d'etat against Col Qadhdhafi. And, if we are to believe former Socialist Deputy Falco Accame, a relentless fighter against the "Libyan lobby" in Italy and in his own party, such contacts continued, more or less discreetly.

Some of the authors of the Libyan assassination attempts in Rome were tried. Most of them were not even arrested. The Italian authorities' extreme prudence, if not ambiguity, in the face of Libyan terrorism, was fully apparent at the time of the arrest in Paris in October 1983 of Abdallah Muhammad Sa-id Rashid, 33, believed to be one of those responsible for the "revolutionary tribunals" that "tried" and executed opponents in Europe. He was the object of an arrest warrant issued by the Milan public prosecutor for his complicity in the assassination on 11 June 1980, in the middle of the station in the Lombardy capital, of Azzedin Lahederi, a wealthy Libyan businessman in exile. The official extradition request got lost in the bureaucratic wheels of the ministries concerned, as if the Italian authorities were not really eager to be burdened with an affair as delicate as it was embarrassing in their already tormented relations with Tripoli.

Nearly 20,000 Italian Workers

Neither the memory of the expulsion of Italians from Libya in 1970 without compensation nor the suspicions of possible Libyan responsibility for terrorism in Italy, nor Col Qadhdhafi's violent indictments of one aspect or another of the Peninsula's foreign policy (most recently of the installation of cruise missiles in Comiso in Sicily), nor even the current threats to again demand "damages of war and colonialism" have actually harmed Italian-Libyan relations on the economic level. Italy, after the United States, is the second largest importer of Libyan oil. Nearly 20,000 Italian specialists and technicians are working in Libya. For years Tripoli was also an important outlet for the Italian arms industry, which was then at the height of its expansion. Thus, in 1983 Italy exported to Libya 3,192 billion lire in merchandise.

Problems that arise from time to time with Libyan authorities who refuse to honor their commitments and their debts (1,200 billion lire still unpaid in 1983) have not really curbed the development of business between the two countries, because each time the question was ultimately settled by compromise. Moreover, the Tripoli regime is no longer averse to investing on the very territory of the former colonial power. Thus, since 1976, Fiat--the very symbol of privately-owned big business in Italy--has had 13 percent of its capital in the hands of Libyan shareholders. Although, because of the magnitude of its economic exchanges in Italy a Libyan lobby is in existence there, which is present in many parties such as the PSI, certain sectors of Christian Democracy or the trade union confederations, it is counterbalanced by the traditional Atlantism of one entire portion of the Italian political class. This is why, despite various attempts and pressures in that direction, Col Qadhdhafi has never been received officially on the Peninsula since he came to power.

Beyond these large plans and contracts, the Libyan authorities are also betting on capillary penetration, especially in Sicily and Sardinia. In 1975 the Libyans tried to buy vast expanses of land on the islands of Pantelleria and Lampedusa, off the southern coast of Sicily, an advanced point for NATO's security forces in the Mediterranean. This affair disturbed public opinion and the authorities blocked the operation by leaning on a law going back to 1935, which forbids the acquisition of land in border zones by foreigners.

A Sicilian Attorney

Libyan penetration into the Sicilian economy and media has nonetheless continued. It is symbolized by one man: Michele Papa, 130 kg, an attorney by profession. In 1974 he founded an association for Sicilian-Arab friendship in Catania. Six years later, in a small apartment, he opened Italy's first mosque. He periodically organizes Italian-Libyan friendship fetes with gigantic portraits of Qadhafi and President Sandro Pertini, thus stirring up protests from the presidency of the Republic. He has also enabled the Libyans to obtain indirect control of two local television stations in Sicily. In his newspaper, SICILIA OGGI, he extols the achievements of the Libyan revolution and sings the praises of its leader.

He might be no more than a folklore hero, more ridiculous than dangerous, if there were not brought together, around this lawyer with the controversial personality, a group of Socialist or Christian Democratic politicians, former members of Sicilian separatist movements, some having a "Mafia odor" or connections with the secret power centers, such as the defunct and very peculiar Masonic P2 League. Michele Papa, if one can believe the Italian press, was even one of the intermediaries who put Billy Carter, the brother of the former American president, in contact with the representatives of the Libyan government.

It is true that in Sicily, in one section of public opinion, including the left, there is still very strong nostalgia or the dream of "a Mediterranean island destiny" calling for increasing development of trade with the Arab world. But even among these people there are many who are amazed and indignant at the recognition given by Libyans to "totally discredited" personages.

8946

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ABDELMAJID CHOUKAILI ON ROLE OF TRAINING ENGINEERS

Casablanca LAMALIF in French No 154, Mar-Apr 84 pp 24-30

[Interview with Abdelmajid Choukaili, general secretary of the Casablanca Association of Engineers of the Mohammedia School, by Z. D.; date and place of interview not specified]

[Text] A national conference on the training of engineers was held in Rabat from 16 to 18 February 1984. Organized after months of work by the Association of Engineers of the Mohammedia School, the conference brought together some of Morocco's 8,000 engineers and produced some very interesting speeches and debates. Following the report which we published in our last issue on the employment situation of engineers, their training and outlook for the future, we asked Mr Abdelmajid Choukaili, one of the organizers of that conference and the general secretary of the Casablanca Association of Engineers of the Mohammedia School, to please discuss technology for LAMALIF's readers. Together with education, technology was one of the major topics of that conference.

The following interview, as will become apparent, goes beyond what is called technology to sketch a Moroccan technological future in which society's acceptance of the engineer and technology is the central factor. The beginning of an autonomous technology based on what already exists, recourse to foreign research companies, project engineering, integration of the engineer into the social fabric, historical, cultural and psychological problems, and refinement of the training to be provided are some of the problems mentioned in this interview.

[Question] At the time of the conference on the training of engineers, Mr Rachid Bel Mokhtar said he believed that there was a lack of correlation between the Moroccan socioeconomic context and the engineering profession; and you yourself, in your speech, referred to an economic development based on small-scale techniques. What can you say about this?

[Answer] This matter of a lack of correlation is related to the matter of a small-scale structure: to some extent, this formed the basis of the proposition that I advanced, which is that the developed countries themselves are in the process of returning more and more to an industrial structure based on very small units.

[Question] Regarding the problem of a lack of correlation, I thought that since there isn't very much technological development in the whole country, there is no environment that could motivate an engineer. But you have introduced the concept of technological development, perhaps a slight development....

[Answer] No! That doesn't mean that small-scale production is slight technological development. The technical level will be raised in any case as progress is made, but the environment as it exists in Morocco, thus the cultural vector, would also have to be integrated. In all development policies, it is Western-style development, with large production units, that is the goal, whereas there are other initial choices for developing the economy and technology.

[Question] That is the problem of the environment. Then what do you propose? What would be the ideal environment for a Third World engineer in an Arab-Moslem country?

[Answer] For him to be able to practice his profession fully and to play the role expected of him, he would first have to consider a number of national factors. For example, let's consider the problem of labor. We know that in developed countries all the latest technologies are increasingly praised to the skies, but they are not all good for underdeveloped countries. Robotics, which is in the process of being developed everywhere at present, is not a developmental feature that could be adapted in Third World countries which have serious unemployment problems.

Another feature is maximum use of the country's resources. Between the 1960's and the mid-1970's, we witnessed an almost exponential increase in the prices of raw materials and it was worthwhile for Third World countries to export them. Now, however, the situation is reversed. We note that pressure on the prices of raw materials has dropped internationally and now it is much more worthwhile to process these materials locally rather than to export them and reimport them later in other forms.

As to the size of companies, the industrialized countries have noted that the portion of underdeveloped countries' production which they import (for example, 50 percent of U.S. imports of manufactured goods come from the Third World) is following exactly the opposite route in the network that multinational corporations have put together.

Under these circumstances, there is more and more competition for certain goods coming from developing countries. Furthermore, the capital invested in the past in a number of innovations no longer provides the same profitability, whence the trend toward dismantling a number of large industrial complexes. One example of this is the decision to reorganize TALBOT [expansion unknown] in France. What is new is the emergence of small production units--as in the case of microprocessors--because they have a market, first of all, and also because their size is much smaller than that of multinational corporations. Their financial success is almost exclusively based on two or three engineers, not on the financier who is behind the investment.

We observed this approach in the Moroccan context prior to World War II, in small establishments in which everything was based on the production and know-how of a maalem who was surrounded by a number of apprentice workers.

But after World War II, modern industries were brought in, especially the importation of a number of turn-key industries which, while hampering small-scale production without replacing it, totally relegated the engineer to a secondary role. For the engineer is now only the overseer of the production unit. He is there to run things; he is not there to design things.

It is obvious that small-scale production cannot be maintained as we knew it in the past. Now there are sophisticated management methods and electronic data processing. An attempt should be made to combine the two to some degree; I wouldn't say by following the example of Western countries and imitating what they are currently doing, but by following the example of our own history, while modernizing it.

[Question] You mentioned the case of data processing. However, this is a specific case. I don't think that it could be adapted to all economic sectors. The role of the engineer in industry in general should be mentioned. You advocate PME [small and medium-size businesses] and PMI [small and medium-size industries]. Do you think that they could be established and organized by an engineer, who would take the place of the former artisan and who would thus have that know-how? But would he necessarily be suited for managing a company?

[Answer] I don't think that we can talk about PME and PMI, especially because of the terminology: they have always been depicted as a large plant in miniature. But PME/PMI are companies which have their own constraints and which must operate in a certain way. True PME/PMI, which are highly developed small-scale production units, are entities that have been stifled. There are a number of engineers who have created their own production units, in which they design a number of products and have them produced or produce them with workers whom they hire and train themselves. Those people cannot make a living because of obvious financial and market-restricting problems, because the big investors have stifled that kind of innovation.

In the Moroccan context, the engineer is educated at a very high intellectual level and, contradictorily, works in an extremely limited field of application. He is confined to a role of merely supervising and maintaining machines that have been designed and produced elsewhere. Thus he has three ways out: either he resigns himself to this and does his work, meagerly, from day to day; or he goes back into theoretical developments related to his training. He theorizes without being able to apply his theories in the field. Or he can pack his bags and go elsewhere. There are three possible choices.

On the other hand, the engineer as we see him in the United States and Europe, where technological conditions are related to his training, continues to conduct daily applied research to improve a manufacturing process, to modify a part, to alter a machine, etc.... That is how technology evolves. You begin with a relatively basic piece of equipment and gradually develop it over 5, 6, 7 or even 10 years. That possibility is not open to the Moroccan engineer.

[Question] You have thus described the engineer's place in the process of technological development, which is nil, since there is no technology. You advocate a technology based on developing what already exists. I would now like to ask you about the problem of project engineering in Morocco. This matter of research companies has been examined many times, but recourse to foreign research companies is very extensive. What do you recommend in this regard?

[Answer] In the case of research companies and project engineering in general, we are in an embryonic stage, if not at point zero. An overwhelming majority of Moroccan research companies do reinforced concrete calculations, but everyone knows that now you need only a small calculator or a microcomputer to do that. This is a repetitive job and it cannot be said that it is at a very high technological level in spite of the existence of several highly competent research companies.

But it is very indicative that most research companies are in the construction sector. The reason for this is that in order to build a project with civil engineering, you have to go to the construction site. Besides the fact that the administration and the government encourage them, Moroccans have been induced to play a certain part in developing a certain kind of construction and civil engineering technology. In the mechanical, metallurgical, electronics, etc., sectors, on the other hand, there are no research companies at all or there are "mail boxes" that accept certain orders and then send them abroad to be filled. They then forward the results to their customers. A piece of electrical equipment or a turnkey plant can be produced in several small components in foreign plants and shipped here, where only the assembly operation takes place and, subsequently, obviously its supervision and maintenance.

Another problem is that the capital that is invested comes strictly from the government. The private sector invests only on a sure basis of definite guarantees, such as customs protection for its products and with assurance of short-term profitability. This is why the private sector's investments are relatively small.

[Question] But is it possible to determine the amount of money that is used to purchase foreign technologies? This also leads back to the notion of training, which is the notion that there is a need for engineers, since according to one of the conference speeches 26,000 engineers could be employed, and this was even before 1980, if project engineering were performed in Morocco.

[Answer] In projects undertaken by the government, project engineering represents, either directly or indirectly, 30 percent of the total cost of the projects. That is enormous! Which is what made it possible to draw this conclusion as early as 1976: whereas there were only 6,000 Moroccan engineers (all types combined), if all of the government's expenditures were made in Morocco they could employ 17,500 engineers. There is said to be a shortage of engineers at present. That is certain. The figures show that we currently need 26,000 to 30,000 engineers. Similarly, we know that there are engineers who are presently unemployed and the outlook for the next 2 or 3 years is very gloomy. Thus there is a paradox somewhere.

In my opinion, this is related to three main problems. First, the distrust of manufacturers, who invest only on a sure basis. Secondly, the wait-and-see attitude of banks regarding investments. And finally, the investment code which, to release funds for investment, uses the number of jobs created as its main criterion in addition to the nature of the industry being created. In contrast, the very source of production--the engineer--who can set up a small company and who obviously has no money, enjoys no trust and the banks require him to put up real estate or fixed assets as collateral. This enormously limits the field of productivity and scope of aid for innovation and industrial vitality.

Thus the leading employer of engineers is the government, with 50 percent employed by the government alone and 70 percent if we add semipublic corporations. Thus the vast majority of engineers have been diverted from the productive sector and have allowed themselves to be restricted to an administrative routine.

The productive sector employs only 25 percent of engineers. Thus it is not surprising that industry is still in an embryonic stage. This will be changed only if we managed to induce the banks to share the risk with the engineer-promoter. A financial risk, not a technical or technological risk, which is almost nil. On the other hand, the latter is particularly high for people providing financial backing but who have no technical background. Experience shows that they do not employ the necessary personnel either. Thus a bank that grants an investment loan to an engineer setting up some operation must accept a margin of risk, as is the case almost everywhere in Western countries, but which is something that we currently don't see here, where the banks are merely satisfied, in most cases, with commercial or speculative operations.

[Question] And what are agriculture's needs and possibilities?

[Answer] This is an extremely sensitive point, because 48 percent of the working population, according to the latest estimates, work in the agricultural sector. The total number of agricultural engineers can be estimated at 2,800. Of the total 8,000 engineers, this is a very high percentage. But of these 2,800 engineers, about 2,500 are employed by the government. The only current opportunities for employment in the private sector are with large food-producing companies (sugar mills, for example). And there are no engineers at all in small agricultural production companies.

The only possibility of developing agriculture and being able to introduce a semblance of modernization therein is to allocate a quota of engineers per cultivable area or group of farmers. The handicap lies in organizing the mosaic of small farms into coherent units that lend themselves to advanced agricultural techniques. Here I am getting into an area with which I am not familiar, but I think that the aim is to encourage the modernizing participation of the engineer, who will be able to vitalize this sector and help to develop it.

Nor should the engineer's sudden emergence in the rural area lead to the type of relationship that exists between the farmer and the agronomist, a relationship that has many negative features--in my opinion. Why? Because of the

psychological barrier between a scholar who has received theoretical instruction and is perceived as the source of mandatory decisions and as possessing a clearly urban approach, on one hand; and the farmer, who believes that, having always lived on his land, he knows perfectly well the best way to produce crops. This situation is similar to the one prevailing in industrial plants: the worker, completely familiar with his work, and the engineer, who intervenes, it is thought, at the wrong time in the production process. It is certain that he will never be able to compete with the worker in performing a fixed task. But the engineer is required to go beyond such tasks, to improve them and to find prototypes, manufacturing processes, in a word a technology that can improve productivity while improving the situation of the worker himself. Thus the problem is one of integrating the engineer into the social fabric. We produce a Western-type engineer and then when he has to work in a Moroccan social context, he encounters a barrier that he must definitely clear. The historian Naciri expressed this rather well in regard to Moroccans who are sent to Europe to learn the arms trade.

[Question] Could we perhaps bring up the famous idea of the government engineer and the industrial engineer at this point? For everything you are describing, however, is the engineer of ideas. For you, then, isn't the engineer someone who conceives ideas?

[Answer] For me, an engineer is rather someone who applies ideas. I am outraged by this absolutely false terminology because it is deliberately vague. An engineer is someone who transforms abstract scientific concepts into directly applicable concepts.

It is true that we could say that he conceives ideas, but this operation has to do with processes whose purpose is to produce. The engineer is someone who is in the field and in the plant with the basic and primary concern of finding out how, based on the rational application of his scientific training, to improve a production process to provide consumer goods or equipment to the community.

By drawing specific correlations with abstract terms, we could say that science is knowledge and that technique is application. Engineering lies between these two aspects. This is technology or know-how. Thus it is the intermediate step between knowledge, which is expressed in pure basic research, and technique translated into action through the systematic repetition of totally defined tasks.

But in Morocco, the engineer is rejected both by the workers: this is the industrial engineer, who thus blocks a number of jobs for technical assistants and foremen ... and by research, but while being cut off from its extension to concrete application. Thus he remains restricted to his calculations and equations without knowing exactly what they will be used for. Obviously he has the purely mental satisfaction of using the education that he received in school. But putting the engineer back in his proper place, that of know-how--that is, using knowledge to produce something--is not systematically done in a country like Morocco and is only rarely successful there.

[Question] Then how do you view scientific and technical research and developmental research?

[Answer] There isn't one kind of scientific research, there are different kinds of research. A mathematician at his desk with only a pencil does research. He finds new theorems, he sharpens scientific tools. Looking back at history, we note for example that conics were discovered centuries before it was known that the stars revolved around the sun by describing such curves. What might have seemed like merely a mental exercise proved to be highly useful to Kepler and Newton in the 17th and 18th centuries. Thus there is basic research, whose immediate application is not at all apparent, and there is also applied research, which is conducted in a number of laboratories or engineering schools. It starts out with scientific concepts in order to end with the conception and production of processes or machinery to facilitate a certain kind of production.

Thus we come back to the negative aspect of differentiating between the government engineer and the industrial engineer in government, which blocks this innovative activity and makes it serve a certain negative emulation: an industrial engineer now dreams only of becoming a government engineer.

[Question] And the concept of transferring technology? What does that mean?

[Answer] The transfer of technology is actually the sale of technology, perhaps even the loan of technology, because it is not paid for in cash, first of all, and also because Western technology is only copied. There has been a lag in the case of manufactured products. Multinational corporations have established a number of subsidiaries in underdeveloped countries for reasons of labor costs and markets. That has pompously been called the "transfer of technology." The process has since been improved. But in the final analysis, the "technological" result is the training of workers, but they are on the lowest rung of the ladder.

It could even be said that developing countries are, internationally, the workers of developed countries, who would be the design engineers of international relations.

[Question] And what is industrializing engineering?

[Answer] At our level, that of a developing country, industrializing technology is what leads to real industrialization, unlike false industrialization, which hides behind the label of "transfer of technology." Instead of starting out with a technology that comes to us from elsewhere and that is not mastered at all, it is instead a matter of producing our own technology and following our own process in accordance with our own context. This problem is very important, because it calls into question the prevailing philosophy in the case of technology, a philosophy that tries to affirm the uniqueness of the technological route. This proposition obviously requires all countries to fall into line on the technological path. The development of Western technology has taken place over 300 or 400 years. It cannot be refashioned in 10 or 20 years in underdeveloped countries or even under the pressure of numerous urgent problems.

The reality is that there is not just one technology, but several. For example, the data processing technology coming to us from Japan--and which is now gaining ground--has followed its own path, totally different from the Western pattern. The Japanese economy itself blazed its own path in the early part of this century according to its own processes. And yet the Western technological mirror continues to be waved in our faces as though we had no culture: there isn't a single path, there are several.

[Question] I would like to ask you, since you are elaborating on ideas that are no longer in the realm of technology, but rather in the realm of philosophy, the reason for the Moroccan technological standstill. You spoke about a know-how intrinsic to the country, deriving from small-scale crafts production, but then why did it suddenly stop? Why have Morocco and countries like it found themselves at the end of the line? Why didn't they follow a path identical to that of Europe? It isn't just because of a shortage of capital!

[Answer] It may in fact be noted that Morocco was a highly developed country in the case of crafts, and thus of "technology." It owed its success in particular to trade that drained the resources of Africa and the East in order to export them to Europe. This transit trade chronologically preceded and stimulated industrial production. In Europe, on the other hand, technology preceded trade, which developed only as a result of the availability of a large amount of goods that found purchasers.

In Morocco, production made up for its lack of quality by large quantities produced to meet the demand of tradesmen. On the other hand, Morocco always turned its back on exploiting its iron ore mines, which had nevertheless been known to exist for a very long time in the Rif. Morocco preferred instead to exploit silver mines, gold mines and other ore mines that were unable to support extensive production, whereas in Europe iron was the basis for the development of a clearly more productive and aggressive technology.

Finally, beginning in the 15th century, the Portuguese reconquest, through its battering of the Moroccan coast, mobilized the country's energies to defend its identity. Morocco, which was master on terra firma, was totally at a loss when it came to controlling the seas. In the 18th century, the search for new markets led to the development of the French and English navies, which sealed Morocco's decline. Through their trade with Africa and the Indies, they deprived it of the very source of its development. Nor could it combat their maritime power any longer.

I think that these are the three factors responsible for the decline of what can today be called Moroccan industry: technology that was dependent on trade, rather than stimulating it; failure to exploit iron; and the failure to develop a maritime power to protect its trade routes.

Thus industry declined over a long period, almost becoming nil toward the 1860's (Battle of Tetouan), and was later obviously totally wiped out by the Protectorate.

[Question] Does this mean that a merchant society was preferred over a developing society?

[Answer] Absolutely; and this is a feature that is still observable today.

[Question] And that is why I asked the initial question about the environment as a cultural concept. And this is why I repeat my question about society's acceptance of technology.

[Answer] I believe that this constitutes the social dimension underlying technological activity. It is obvious that in order to produce, it is impossible--as some people believed for some time, especially in Europe in the late 19th century, along with the "scientists"--to consider only figures and to believe exclusively in rational and absolutely defensible arguments without considering the psychological and cultural context. Whether we like it or not, when we are grappling with any industrial development, even if we want to disregard its cultural and psychological aspects, they force us to take them into account. The Moroccan has always been a merchant, a tradesman, and priority has always been given to immediate profitability rather than to long-term development. But everyone knows that technology is a long-term and a long-winded process. Engineers must therefore work to reverse this thinking.

[Question] How can we bridge this psychological and cultural gap?

[Answer] The psychological gap is more or less society's idea of government; and here we are tackling a problem of managing people. But we know very well that we have lived for a very long time with the conviction that the state is the sole source of all blessings. Even now, all industries and businesses expect markets and investments of the government. This kind of thinking, which encourages opposition to progress, should be questioned. The private sector, with the banks, should roll up its sleeves and take a minimal financial risk. In short, it must accept its responsibilities and become an adult.

[Question] Is there a problem with national self-financing of technology?

[Answer] That depends on what you mean by that. If research makes it possible to improve national technology or even to create it as a whole, the effort is almost nonexistent. There is no sophisticated scientific research. In any case, the research being conducted by schools and universities is very difficult to apply to industry except in isolated instances. This is also a very indicative phenomenon, because in Moroccan engineering schools, at least at the Mohammedia School of Engineers, senior research projects are at a relatively high level. When the same engineers who have designed these projects leave school to go to work, they no longer manage to produce at the same intellectual level because of the technological level of industries and their established way of doing things. This, and the blockage of all investments outside of assured markets, is at the root of the lack of self-financing of technology by research. Now if you mean the transfer of contracts to manufacturers--for it would also be possible to attempt to develop a certain technology in this way--there are some very minimal spin-offs in industry; but in the public works, mining and civil engineering sector, which enjoys a huge outfitting effort by the government, there is a slight margin that benefits national technology. Even in these sectors, we have not attained

the full benefit for national technology. Just as it is impossible to inflate a punctured tire, it is also impossible to benefit from self-financing a national technology that subcontracts a large part of its operations abroad.

[Question] Now that you engineers number 8,000, let's say that in 4 years, according to Dr Salmi's estimates, there will be almost 2,000 more of you. Do you think that this professional body is large enough, educated enough and intellectually mature enough to try to change the social situation described?

[Answer] Large enough, that depends. We are not large enough to deal with matters overnight if the government decides that all its expenditures on technology are to be made in Morocco. But the number of engineers (10,000 in 2 years) is now large enough to constitute a community that, through its small victories, its small frustrations, in short through its experience, has finally become aware of its role, especially in a crisis situation that is both domestic and international. This is why there was a spontaneous meeting of engineers to discuss the education of engineers in Morocco during the recent conference held in Rabat. I think that the proliferation of ideas is extraordinary at this time and we must seize this opportunity to establish the components of a national technological plan that is almost nonexistent. I think that these 8,000 people, who occupy key positions in the Moroccan economy, are a community that can play a nonnegligible technical role and work toward the desired technological take-off.

[Question] In your conference, did you make some progress in outlining this plan?

[Answer] That was one of the things that was discussed, but with a certain lack of precision. Many very clear ideas were developed and compared. But this technological plan was not clearly identified, even if its need was felt by everyone. There was no definitive consensus concerning a plan for Morocco's technological future. But through all the debates and speeches, it was felt that there was a need to rationalize Morocco's industry and technology.

[Question] But was the cultural and psychological problem broached?

[Answer] A society's development does not begin with engineering. It begins with education, and at the elementary level. It is not by providing a country with a certain percentage of engineers (in Morocco's case, approximately 1 engineer for every 1,400 working people) that its development will be assured. The society must also be capable of receiving that technology, assimilating it, digesting it, consuming it. To cite one example, in Japan 80 percent of the working population hold bachelor degrees. We are very far from that in Morocco. Providing for a technological beginning means first providing for adequate mandatory education, even including technological instruction at the elementary level, something that was recommended by the conference.

[Question] But if the idea of a technological future is still in its infancy, that is, the future of industry, has the idea of future engineering education been refined? Is this something that has been developed?

[Answer] With regard to education, first of all, it is the endless craving for instruction in engineering schools that has been stigmatized. It is true that they have trained engineers who have capitalized--the word is very significant--on a certain volume of knowledge. Such knowledge must first be assimilated. This has not always been done in a very favorable way, because things that were important only because of their volume and number were taught. Dr Khalid has written a very interesting report that has enabled us to calculate that students need 48-hour days to assimilate all the knowledge dispensed to them in engineering schools. As for basic scientific and theoretical knowledge, it is at a relatively high, even a very high, level.

But what is lacking is the introduction of information about the country's technological capabilities. For example, major projects completed, natural resources, etc....

[Question] As you said, we find ourselves facing a gap: there are enormous needs, but there are also unemployed engineers, whose numbers will be even greater in 2 or 3 years and some speeches concluded that there could be more jobs for engineers if education were much more refined for certain sectors, particularly for the mechanical and metallurgical industries, materials and electronics, etc.... Isn't there a need for more specialized education?

[Answer] There is actually a lack of correlation between education and industry as it is applied. Is it industry that is not totally suited, or is it the engineer who is not suited for industry?

There is something else, too--there are 2,800 agricultural engineers, but none in the food industry?

With regard to the content of education, there are enormous efforts to be made. With regard to the competence and distribution of engineers by sector, there is really a lot to be done. We have reached an uncoordinated situation in which a department that needs 100 engineers in a particular area encourages the establishment of a school to educate many more of them, whereas there is a shortage of engineers in other areas. That is a problem of coordination, which was strongly emphasized during the conference. This coordination is possible only by subordinating all schools to a single Department of Education that will be in charge of them.

There are also certain particular areas for which the number of engineers required is too small to justify the establishment of a school. It is more profitable to obtain such education abroad.

[Question] But is this possible here, after establishing a common core curriculum?

[Answer] Absolutely. One of the proposals made by a number of conference participants was to devise the broadest possible common core curriculum, because the pattern of education does not correspond to the employment pattern. In a developed country, jobs are distributed across almost the entire spectrum of engineers: there are research engineers, engineers who design machinery, engineers who are in plants, maintenance engineers, operating engineers. There

is a distribution of engineers at every stage of designing an article until it is produced and education is developed in that way. But in a developing country like Morocco, the field of activity of engineers is practically limited to two or three levels, whereas electrical, environmental and electronics engineers, actually engineers in all fields, are educated in the same way. And once they are trained, they are not easy to use. Thus there is a dual effort to be made. First at the industrial level--encouraging a number of jobs to be performed locally, by broadening the spectrum of industrial operations. Then the years of specialization should be limited by developing common core curricula as much as possible, which will enable the engineer to be interdisciplinary to some extent. An engineer in Morocco should be an all-round engineer, I mean in the major fields. Of course, an electronics engineer would not be required to be concerned with the construction of buildings. After the common core curriculum, specialization should be refined in the last 1 or 2 years.

[Question] After this common core curriculum and after a more sophisticated technical development in various areas, is it possible to look forward to elective courses?

[Answer] We're already there. We have to be. Technology is now changing almost from year to year. Let's say every 5 years. But 5 years is one stage in educating an engineer. This is precisely where continuous education comes in. This is also why scholastic education must be based on a common core curriculum. Practical training will take place especially during the engineer's career. He does not finish learning his profession when he leaves school. Up until the time he retires, he must continue to learn.

And one problem that is practically never discussed is how the engineer accepts all that. Overall, the engineer now has a strength of which he is still unaware, the community of engineers whose influence is now not at all negligible. And here we come back to the philosophical and psychological problem.

Creation of Jobs by Economic Activity Between 1983 and 2000

(a) Branche	1975	1983	TCA* (%) (b)	2000	TCA* (%) (b)	ACCT (1000) (c)
1 - Culture, élevage et forêt (1) (d)						
2 - Eau, électricité et énergie	13.540	20.760	4.85	47.580	5.0	27
3 - Mines	37.040	60.250	8.26	138.100	5.0	78
4 - Bâtiments et T.P.	182.190	342.800	8.20	822.500	6.0	580
5 - Industries alimentaires	66.736	77.095	1.82	185.480	5.3	108
6 - Produits textiles et bonneteries	77.379	84.660	1.13	200.420	5.2	118
7 - Habillement	61.410	78.100	5.38	190.960	5.4	112
8 - Cuir et articles en cuir	16.351	32.300	8.88	137.620	8.9	105
9 - Bois et articles en bois	29.099	53.700	7.97	198.690	8.0	145
10 - Articles en caoutchoucs ou en plastiques	7.048	9.840	4.26	24.850	5.6	15
11 - Papier, Carton et imprimerie	8.114	10.440	3.20	25.940	5.5	16
12 - Produits de la chimie et de la parachimie	9.167	32.440	17.13	140.390	9.0	108
13 - Produits de carrière, verre et céramique	17.283	32.200	8.09	121.030	8.1	89
14 - Produits de l'industrie métalliques	2.238	2.250	60	7.820	7.6	6
15 - Ouvrages en métaux	18.251	22.310	1.88	67.190	6.7	45
16 - Machines et matériels d'équipement	2.299	4.540	8.88	19.340	8.9	15
17 - Matériels électriques et électroniques	4.302	6.370	5.02	23.200	7.9	17
18 - Matériels de transport	6.308	8.160	3.27	35.310	9.0	27
19 - Autres industries manufacturières	2.170	2.170	0.00	5.310	5.4	3
20 - Transports	62.830	81.770	1.97	86.490	2.0	25
21 - Télécommunications	31.500	38.550	1.87	50.330	1.9	14
22 - Commerce	83.950	128.490	5.46	319.270	5.5	191
23 - Services	251.050	390.220	5.87	847.810	5.7	578
24 - Administration	323.290	509.000	5.96	1.167.700	5.0	658

Key:

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. Farming, livestock breeding and forestry | 19. Other manufacturing industries |
| 2. Water, electricity and energy | 20. Transportation |
| 3. Mining | 21. Telecommunications |
| 4. Construction and public works | 22. Commerce |
| 5. Food industries | 23. Services |
| 6. Textile products and hosiery | 24. Government |
| 7. Clothing | (a) Sector |
| 8. Leather and leather articles | (b) Annual growth rate of formal employment |
| 9. Wood and wooden articles | (c) Increase in jobs created by thousands between 1983 and 2000 |
| 10. Rubber and plastic articles | (d) Estimation of formal employment for this sector is not necessary |
| 11. Paper, cardboard and printing | |
| 12. Chemical and related products | |
| 13. Stone, glass and ceramic products | |
| 14. Metal industry products | |
| 15. Metal works | |
| 16. Machinery and equipment | |
| 17. Electrical and electronic equipment | |
| 18. Transportation equipment | |

11915

CSO: 4519/148

CURRENT PROBLEMS, FUTURE HOPES FOR FISHING INDUSTRY

London AL-TADAMUN in Arabic No 52, 7 Apr 84 p 58

[Article by Abu Bakir al-Sadiq al-Sharif: "The Maritime Fishing Industry in Morocco: Temporary Difficulties and Future Ambitions"]

[Text] A report of the Moroccan Center for Economic and Social Studies and Recommendations in its last issue contained statistics about the Moroccan maritime fishing industry. In its elucidation of this resource it mentioned that Morocco considers it to be a future reserve in case of any expected uncertainty in the role of phosphates as the backbone of the country's economy. The publication made clear that the percentage of funds recuperated from the value of sales to foreign markets did not exceed 45 percent of projected income according to the increase in the level of production, which was 497 million dirhams.

Moreover, it made clear that production in this field depends upon the maritime fishing yield which is composed of three types of fish, the first of which is referred to as "industrial fish," since it is used especially for processing industries such as canning, freezing, smoking, salting and meal. The latter is used in the production of fodder for animals and birds. Industrial fish, according to the publication is among the species of fish which has hard skin. The second type is represented by "white fish" which is consumed fresh whether in the country or outside of it, and the third type is represented by crustaceans, mollusks, and shell fish which are also consumed fresh both inside and outside of the country.

From all three types, the publication said that the total production for 1982 was 292,758 tons worth 413.9 million dirhams. Production for the prior year was 346,550 tons, the value of which did not exceed 388.8 million dirhams. The shortfall reached 15.5 percent while the fiscal return increased 6.5 percent or 25 million dirhams.

The publication considers that the tangible increase in the level of fiscal return for the 1982 maritime fishing harvest is attributable to the accumulation of three factors, the first of which is the increase in the sale price which reached an average of 34 dirhams per kg; secondly, the increased production of species of fish which enjoy wide demand both locally and in foreign markets; and thirdly, the use of better means of fishing at the initiative of joint cooperatives.

In this vein it is worth indicating that the cooperatives in the ports of Safi and Agadir made use of two large sized Soviet ships which led the Moroccan fleet consisting of 45 fishing vessels distributed among 9 groups. These vessels delivered 18,400 tons of production worth 8.8 million dirhams to the Soviet ships. Not more than 2,000 tons of this catch were off-loaded for local consumption whereas the rest, consisting of 16,400 tons, were converted into seafood products on the decks of the Soviet ships since they are equipped with large factories for fish processing.

As for the production of fresh fish for export, the publication said that white fish comprised the most important part of this area and reached 57,290 tons, or 84.6 percent of the total catch for the year from the production locations of this type and from the high seas. This catch was off-loaded in the port of Las Palmas in the archipelago of the Canary Islands. The export destination were Japan, Western Europe and Africa. The publication said that the increase in the prices for this year increased the return by 35.25 percent over the prior year, and it also indicated that the number of fishing vessels operating in this sector doubled from 66 vessels in 1981 to 113 vessels in 1982, which was part of the reason for the success. Also, the Japanese and the African markets recorded a large move forward in demand for the catch. As for the rest of Moroccan products such as Tuna, according to the publication, it was taken by markets in Abidjan, Dakar, France, Italy, and Portugal. In conclusion the publication made clear that the number of fishing companies on the high seas that were registered by the Moroccan Fiscal Administration with adjustment shares went from 28 companies in 1981 to 53 companies in 1982, and as a result of the level of operations 497 million dirhams were realized during 1982, a return of 231.9 million dirhams was accomplished or 46.63 percent. If the monetary value of the sales sector increased from 319.4 million in 1981 to 497.2 million dirhams in 1982, this means that the percentage of money recovered has become almost 45 percent. This, according to some Moroccan economic circles, is a step forward which, with increased efforts in the coming season, could play a vital role, along side other factors in restoring the economic roof which is suffering some cracks from the world economic crisis and the downturn in the marketability of phosphates in the world market and the diminishing of its profitability.

12390

CSO: 4504/244

MOROCCO

GENERAL SECRETARY OF DEMOCRATIC LABOR CONFEDERATION INTERVIEWED

Casablanca AL-ITTIHAD AL-ISHTIRAKI in Arabic 14-16 Apr 84

[Interview with Noubair Amaoui, general secretary of Democratic Labor Confederation: "We Have Reminded the Government of Our Demands, Which Include Freeing All Political and Unionist Prisoners"; date and place not specified]

[14 Apr 84 pp 1, 3]

[Text] The magazine AL-WATAN AL-'ARABI held an interview with Brother Noubair Amaoui in his capacity as general secretary of the Democratic Labor Confederation. In this interview, Brother Amaoui clarified the process of trade union rectification, the relationship of the confederation to the National Liberation Movement, and its ties to the progressive political parties. He also expressed the position of the Democratic Labor Confederation (DLC) on the dialogue opened by the government. He made note of the most important points of the list of demands held by the trade union central. At the head of the list stand the points concerned with the practice of trade union activity, the freeing of prisoners, the return of these who have been expelled and laid off to their work, and increasing wages and compensation.

This interview with the general secretary of the DLC is important because it comes in the midst of the preparations that are underway for the celebration of Labor Day. The text of the interview follows:

[Question] What reasons moved you to found the DLC?

[Answer] The founding of the confederation was announced on 25 November 1978. However, this does not mean that it came into existence on that date. It existed before within the framework of the Leagues, the trade unions, and the national confederations that withdrew from the old organization (the Moroccan Labor Federation). The process of withdrawal actually began at the start of the 1960's, after an orientation was adopted that contradicted the principles of the federation. This orientation was imposed by undemocratic means. It is an orientation that shouts the slogan of economic trade unionism, which Europe knew in the 19th century. Consequently, it consecrates the alienation of all the forces of national liberation that are linked to the working class and have placed the demands of those who toil at the head of their programs. On the occasion of the third congress of the Moroccan Labor Federation in 1963,

ideological and organizational independence from all political parties, including the forces of national liberation, was announced. The truth is that this declaration was a consecration of what had become a fait accompli.

This was followed by mass withdrawals on the part of a number of trade unions, such as the National Trade Union of Postal Workers and the National Trade Union of Teachers. Thus, the corrective movement led by the confederation arose on this date, not on the basis of the presentation of a trade union alternative, whatever its name or form might be, but on the basis of the rectification of the situation within the old organization. In 1963, dynamic activity in this direction took place in many cities and sectors, with trade union officials beginning to coordinate their actions. After 1974 and 1975, the political situation in the country experienced a kind of liberalization. This was occasioned by the preconditions of the completion of territorial unity. What came to be called the democratic chain reaction was inaugurated. It was an opportunity for the working class to go forward once again and reorder its ranks. Many worker bases moved to hold national conferences and found confederations in the most important strategic social and economic sectors, especially since the crisis began to become serious among the remaining workers in the Moroccan Labor Federation. Their entry into the parliament and their voting for the government's programs were the drop that caused the cup to overflow. This was behind the decision to break with them completely and provide a trade union alternative.

[Question] Was what you did a rebellion against the Moroccan Labor Federation?

[Answer] Absolutely not. It was a rectification movement and an attempt to return trade union activity to the path and principles on which it was built on 20 March 1955, when the Moroccan Federation was founded.

Yes, the trade union movement has experienced an attempt at secession. It occurred in 1960-61 and was undertaken by reactionary forces. At that time, what is now called the General Federation of Workers was founded by one of the ministers in the Moroccan government and the Istiqlal Party. This was an attempt at secession from above. As for ourselves, the opposite is the case. We continued to struggle for minimum conditions within the Moroccan Labor Federation until many of us were placed outside this organization by undemocratic decisions intended to prevent any development from occurring inside it.

[Question] How many members are in the trade unions in your organization?

[Answer] Just 5 years and a few months after the declaration of the founding of our organization, one can say that it now offers the strongest representation and possesses the biggest presence and the greatest effectiveness of any group on the labor scene. However, before giving any figures, I should make an observation. We as a trade union exist in a state in which we are half allowed to practice our activity and half forbidden to do so. Since the announcement of the founding of our organization, not a month has passed without many of our organizations and bases being subjected to random acts of closure, expulsion from work, or arraignment in the courts.

The confederation was founded by eight national trade unions in the most important economic and social sectors: phosphate, railroads, water and electricity, energy, education, health, the mails, the sugar industries, and petroleum and gas. Then trade unions were founded for agriculture, medicine, local districts, and transportation. All of these sectors are part of the public and semi-public sector. The confederation arose in this sector because it contains 62 percent of all workers, since the state is the biggest employer of wage earners. Thus, it is the biggest participant in many sectors, while it monitors other sectors because it finances them. At the same time, it provides assurances to these sectors. We now have 12 national federations and hundreds of trade unions in the institutions of the private sector. On the membership level, the figures was 250,000 when the organization was first founded. That number has now become 500,000. The figure doubled, as did the organization's strength, by 1981. The response to its calls and positions has become nearly unanimous.

An Independent Organization

[Question] What relationship does your organization have to the Socialist Union of Popular Forces?

[Answer] Both I personally and many officials in the confederation belong to the Socialist Union of Popular Forces (SUPF). At other times, we were officials in it. Therefore, the confederation's relationship with the party is an intimate one through its structures and officials. There is no crime in this. SUPF is a party with broad influence and great weight in the nationalist and democratic arena.

However, the confederation is an independent organization. It is open to all workers, no matter what their affiliations and orientations. In this context, our organization contains numerous workers and officials. Some belong to no party at all, while others do belong, especially to the parties of the left.

Therefore, our relationship with SUPF is not one of absolute dependency. All our positions are adopted and all our decisions are taken on the level of the trade union agencies, with broad, mass consultation of our worker bases. None of the positions we have adopted has ever been imposed on us. This applies to both pure trade union positions and general, national positions.

However, this is not to say that we do not seek the advice of our comrades in the progressive parties in general, since we are constantly in contact with them. We try to take into consideration their positions and views on the general situation in our country. We are proud of this, and we are working to expand it, so that there will be a kind of collective activity and coordination, not just with SUPF alone, but with the Progress and Socialism Party, the Popular Democratic Labor Organization, and even the other trade unions.

[15-16 Apr 84 pp 1,2]

In yesterday's issue, we published the first section of the interview conducted by the magazine AL-WATAN AL-'ARABI with the general secretary of the Democratic Labor Confederation, Brother Noubair Amaoui. In that part of the interview, he spoke primarily about the significant reasons for the founding of the confederation and the extent of its relationship to the liberation movement.

Today we are publishing the second and final section of this interview. It focuses on clarifying the relationship between the central organization and the other Moroccan trade unions and federations, as well as the concept the Democratic Confederation has of the dialogue with the government, which it has adopted as the most useful way to solve problems.

[Question] Did not the entry into the government by the Socialist Union put you into a tight spot?

[Answer] Not at all. First of all, the party's positions are not incumbent on the confederation in a mechanical fashion. Secondly, the Socialist Union entered the government in response to a request by his highness the king.

As Brother Abdelrahim Bouabid has said, the party's participation is taking place in the context of definite goals and a certain time. Among these goals is the rectification of the democratic situation in our country. We are giving absolute support to every action and policy tending in this direction. The second task is to work to correct any complications our national cause may experience.

Thus, the entry into the government of our brothers Abdelrahim Bouabid and Abdelwahid Alradi has not embarrassed us at all. As Brother Bouabid has said, they bear no responsibility for administrative matters. In this context, we have noted the positions taken by the party in defense of holding the prices of basic consumer goods down, since such an increase would harm the interests of the masses. We have also noted their defense of the need to open a dialogue with all social forces, especially the working class.

The Dialogue With the Government

[Question] What is the nature of the ties binding you to the other Moroccan trade unions and federations?

[Answer] We have absolutely boycotted these trade unions. Our experience with them has been a bitter one. Our avoidance of them is no different from our boycott of the government. The other trade unions are adopting stands consistent with their positions. That is, they defend or justify the government's policy in one way or another.

Last summer, the officials in the confederation sent letters to the Moroccan Federation of Labor and the General Federation of Workers. In them, they called on these organizations to adopt a unified stand on the increases

witnessed by consumer goods prices at that time. We received no reply. We have cut all ties with some leaders in particular, but we are constantly in contact with the workers in all the institutions, including some trade unionists who are still working in the ranks of those trade unions. Sooner or later, they and their organizations will link up with the Democratic Labor Confederation.

[Question] How do you view the recent dialogue with the government? What were your demands?

[Answer] We have always asked for a dialogue. When it began for the first time in 1979 by order of the king, we considered it a gain. We submitted additional commentaries on our demands, which reflected the tragic situation the working class had reached. However, the dialogue did not last. The government tried to empty it of its content by making very small increases that did not do justice to the working class, especially since the wage level had been frozen since the 1960's, while the price level rose by 300 percent at the beginning of the 1970's.

However, the dialogue began again. We hoped that the government, which was headed by Mr Karim Lamrani, would be better than its predecessor. Therefore, in keeping with our principles, which call for the resolution of problems through dialogue, we attended this meeting. The truth is that the government had nothing new to say. It came to listen to our point of view.

This initiative was of interest to us. We urgently wanted the dialogue to be serious and responsible. We made reference to our demands, which we have submitted to the government more than once and which have to do with respect for the practice of trade union activity, the granting of assurances of this respect, the freeing of all trade union and political prisoners, and the return of those who have been fired and laid off to their jobs, as well as increasing wages and compensation.

The government gave us figures concerning the level of employment and production. The truth is that the labor situation is very bad. In addition to the unemployed work force in the cities and steppes, which is estimated to number in the millions and has been out of work for years, a constant threat is facing all wage earners as a result of the economic situation, which is experiencing a frightening decline because of the shrinking of the internal market, competition on the international level, and the predominant choices and extant structures inherited from the era of colonialism.

The government listened to our point of view and promised to give us an additional explanation of how it saw the possibilities, especially with regard to the financial law of 1984.

We consider the implementation of dialogue an initial gain in and of itself. It is an indication that the government is trying to learn the opinion of the trade unions with regard to issues relating to work and the problems of labor in our country.

The government has committed itself to do nothing but resume the dialogue with us. It says that it will work to make sure that the dialogue--from its side--is serious, responsible, and aimed at discussing the proposed demands and dealing with such issues as can be dealt with.

We have always been eager for the dialogue to have a schedule, but the members of the government have not been able to assure one. We are waiting. Perhaps the dialogue will be resumed, our demands will be understood, and we will reach a state of clear cooperation. Perhaps this will not occur. At any rate, we will continue to build our trade union organization and present and defend the legitimate demands of the working class. All we hope for is that wisdom, vision, and true patriotism will triumph among the officials.

12224

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POLITICAL SITUATION ANALYZED BY USFP

Casablanca AL-ITTIHAD AL-ISHTIRAKI in Arabic 17 Apr 84 pp 1, 3

/Article: "An Analysis of the Political Situation and an Evaluation of the Party's Participation in the Transitional Government"

/Text/ The national administrative committee of the Socialist Union of Popular Forces /USFP/ held its ordinary session on the evening of Sunday, 14 April 1984 at party headquarters in Rabat. The session's agenda involved the discussion of the presentation of the political office, which had two sections, one political and the other organizational. The two sections were submitted in succession by Aderrahim Bouabid, the first secretary, and Mohamed Yazghi, the organizational secretary. After a detailed discussion of this presentation on the part of the members of the administrative committee, Brother al-Habib al-Farqani presented a draft statement for discussion. It contained the conclusions extracted from the presentation of the political office and the comments of the participating members. At the end of the session, which lasted until 10:30 at night, the statement of the administrative committee was unanimously approved. We will publish it in a future issue. The following is the first section of the political presentation made by the brother first secretary.

O Brothers:

The presentation which I am honored to submit in the name of my brothers in the political office will deal with the issues in a general manner. These are national issues. As for foreign issues, let me say that all of us now bear total responsibility with regard to them, given our experience. Thus, we must evaluate the situation on the basis of all the expectations we can have, which are constantly on our minds. These expectations are the axis of the discussions going on among the strugglers on all levels. Therefore, on the basis of the fact that the national administrative committee is the responsible body, it has the right to demand from the political office that it provide all necessary clarifications and statements. On the basis of these explanations and free, democratic discussion, which must predominate at our regular meetings, as is our custom, we will all decide, with full responsibility and after thorough reflection and on the basis of the current objective situation. We will decide on the basis of this experience, which we have all been through and about whose results we are all asking. Therefore, O Brothers, I think this meeting is like a resting place along the road, where we can see if we are still traveling

along the road we chose consciously and responsibly, in full awareness of the possibilities and dangers associated with it, which are still there. Let us therefore decide, in the light of this experience, whether we must continue, stop the experiment, or take all necessary steps in order to rectify it and win new gains. These gains will rectify the democratic situation and the will of the masses, so that they will choose those who speak in their name, be they on the base level or in the responsible bodies. They will choose those who express their choices and hopes, as well as the trials they have passed through and are still passing through.

Therefore, in my view the presentation will be comprehensive. Of course, it is impossible for it to deal with all aspects with precision. However, it is possible, both in the discussion and in the commentary, for us to deal precisely with things on all topics. The presentation is really a presentation of the questions circulating in our minds. We can ask our brothers in the rank and file and the responsible agencies for their opinions on these questions.

The Organizational State of the Party's Apparatus

Thus, we will talk first and foremost about the state of the party in terms of organization. Brother Mohamed Yazghi will provide more details with regard to organization. Naturally, it is impossible for a responsible body in the party to meet without considering performance. Is performance advancing? Is it being affected by the atmosphere around it? What tools both cause us and must cause us to be eager to push performance to the right level, so that the body can perform its task? These tools are at the disposal of the Socialist Union of Popular Forces and all the living forces in this country.

Thus, let us begin with the question of organization. As for the second point, it will deal with the current political situation found in the country. This section will have several aspects. The third point will deal with the events of January 1984. By your leave, the fourth point shall be the development of the issue of democracy among the governmental and responsible agencies. In the fifth point, we will take a look at the near and medium-term future.

Yes, we truly wanted to have the administrative committee meet at the time legally determined for it and in accordance with the bylaw in effect. We had to delay for several reasons. For one thing, there was not enough necessary information for a meeting of the national administrative committee. We tried to compensate for that through direct contacts with the provinces and the branches, or at least the bulk of them, in order to acquire the news and get all the necessary information having to do with organization. Our aim was to solve the emergency problems that happen in some branches and provinces, so that one could say that contact with the national administrative committee was not cut off during the entire period since our last meeting. Naturally, we compensated by means of contacts with representatives. Some of them were brother members of the administrative committee, while others were brother officials delegated by the political office. We did so in order to deal with and note the issues, or in order to observe the course of organization firsthand.

In summation we can say the following. We noted a certain lassitude with regard to organizational issues. Naturally, the degree of lassitude varies from province to province and from branch to branch. However, speaking in general terms, there is lassitude. We wanted to see more enthusiasm and some continuing struggles keeping pace with events in several sectors, but according to the information presented to us by the brothers sent to the various provinces and branches, a state of expectation and questioning exists. It is as if we were constantly waiting for events, so that we respond to them. At the same time, we prefer and hope that it will not be necessary for us merely to wait for events to happen. Rather, we should be prepared for all eventualities, so that we can confront them. Naturally, this can only happen if we have the kind of controlled and continuous organization that requires the brother officials among the rank and file to feel a sense of responsibility. They must feel that it is not necessary for us to wait until we are surprised by events, after which we can rise to their level. At any rate, Brother Mohamed Yazghi will give you an idea of the conclusions we reached after reviewing the information and the contacts we made with the various provinces and branches, which have both emergency problems and difficulties having to do with the general atmosphere in Morocco.

The Current Political Situation

The current political situation is the second point on our agenda.

If we want to record this stage in the history of our struggle-filled life and perhaps in the history of Morocco, we can say that this stage is marked by the participation of the Socialist Union of Popular Forces in the current government. This follows a period of almost 25 years in which we were in the opposition. We all know that we made this decision after analyzing the contents of the royal speech given on 5 November 1983. One can say that the invitation was really directed mainly to the Socialist Union. However, when we decided to participate, we did so with a perfectly clear view of things. We expressed this clarity in a number of stands we took, so that there would be no room for ambiguity or false or biased interpretation.

We took part in order to contribute to the defense of Morocco's territorial unity, which had entered a decisive and fateful stage. This state of affairs still exists. On the basis of the liberationist roots of our movement, we could not abandon the battle. Rather, we had to be in the forefront, as were our brothers in the resistance and the Liberation Army, both in the Sahara and elsewhere.

We will return to this point and its developments. The matter is clear. We say that the Sahara is Moroccan in terms of its climate, population, past, culture, and other aspects. Though we are in a situation that causes us to criticize the way in which this issue was handled in past years, it is still our duty to be in the vanguard and support the men of the Liberation Army, who have sacrificed themselves and their children since 1956, as well as to support the stricken families in Ifni and Tarfaya. When the time of decision and the time for battle come, then our liberationist traditions force us to be in the vanguard. We must back the Moroccan soldiers, who are enduring all with patience, steadiness,

and faith that knows neither doubt nor weakness. We have all felt the motive force of national duty, and we have looked forward to the date set for the plebiscite, in order to be in the field and in the vanguard of the front.

The second consideration having to do with our participation in this temporary coalition government is simply what we have been demanding: rectification of the path of democracy. We want to make of it a path enjoying some credibility.

Democracy Can Only Be Completed By Continuous Struggle

When we say "some credibility," others might say that it is as if we were meaning to signify our acceptance ahead of time. In this case, the credibility is not total. This is a kind of commentary. However, we all know that the credibility of the democratic method of any country depends on continuous struggle and steadfast battle, as well as continuous effort. We have never seen complete, comprehensive, and broad democracy emerge in any country except by means of struggle, steadfastness, and continuous work. We may succeed with respect to results and continue. Often we are afflicted by a sense of disappointment with respect to the efforts we make with good intentions and in all sincerity. However, our common experience has always taught us that struggling for the sake of the rectification of democracy amounts to struggling for the sake of democracy as a principle. This is a struggle for the **sake of deepening** the popular consciousness and teaching the masses how to exercise their right to express their will and choices. We have made steps in that direction. We are not waiting for democracy to come like a table from heaven. Nor do we expect it to be a perfect table free of every flaw and all interference, for it has been said and is still said that participation in spurious democracy is actually a vindication for the enemies of democracy and some administrative agencies that still think in reactionary terms and wish to control the citizenry, in violation of the simplest laws, which are no more than ink on paper.

Yes, this might be correct. However, despite that, we preferred to enter the government with a sense of purpose and steadfastness, in opposition to all the obvious devices of falsification. We did so believing that the battle for democracy and public freedoms required that the enemy be confronted on every front within the framework of legality and with complete steadiness and a strong will. Out of the sum of the results and gains we have achieved in many provinces, there arises a clear sense of the people's outrage rights. There is a clear feeling that the vile, disgraceful practices do not hide the concrete situation at all, and that the falsification is itself spurious. One day, at one stage, our struggle, steadfastness, and sacrifice will produce the results for which we are striving. I refer to the establishment of true democracy, gained by means of consciousness and tireless struggle. We are not vindicating falsification, rather, we are working to expose and resist it in every field and on every front.

Our Participation In the Government Is Limited

We must still turn to the operational issues--financial and economic operation, the increase in prices, and the social, economic, and cultural situation, which is known to all of us. We know the serious situation our country faces because

of the practices of previous governments over more than 20 years. This holds true particularly for the period from 1977 till today. That is, for 10 years, we have been discussing the following question: Do necessity, our circumstances, and our national and progressive duty make it incumbent on us to take part in the battle for liberation or the defense of the country's territorial unity and the battle to rectify democracy, with all its instruments? Why should we not even participate in the operation of the government in order to alleviate the pressure imposed by the situation in this country, as well as the pressure exerted by the choking crisis we and the masses are experiencing? This subject has been raised. Before we made the decision, we contacted the officials and said to them: "What do you want from the Socialist Union?" We received precisely this reply: "This is a temporary, transitional government with certain tasks. Naturally, the first task is the pledge having to do with the Moroccan Sahara. The second is the preparation for the coming elections."

We demanded to know whether they wanted us to bear operational responsibility in some sectors. We suggested that we should see what the reactions would be. For example, we suggested the establishment of a ministry having to do with the supervision of the townships and the village associations, in view of their importance, no matter what the affiliations of the officials in these associations might be. We also suggested that while the current economic and financial crisis had external aspects, internal aspects were fundamentally responsible for putting us in this choking crisis. We said that the public and semipublic sector was an opening, and we demanded the establishment of a ministry to supervise this sector, since it drives the national economy. If this sector is reformed, it will be possible to reform other sectors, given its importance. By other sectors I mean the railroads, energy, sugar production, etc.

We were told that this was a temporary government established for a limited period. Therefore, it was impossible to change the previous government, including ministers who had been holding operational responsibility for years at a time. They have stayed in their posts till this hour. There are representatives of political organizations, who are present because they are a special tool for looking into the matter of determining a new strategy and taking all the steps needed to defend the territorial unity of the country, which is still being threatened at this hour. They are also there to work for the correction of the path of democracy.

We said that the matter was clear. In fact, there was one government concerned with operation that was an extension of the previous governments, with their personnel and choices, and another apparatus with its own special tasks. It is impossible to confuse the first apparatus with the second. It is not possible for us to bear operational responsibility, which goes back 10 years, without possibilities and programs. If there are an election campaign and a clarification campaign tomorrow, we will enter them with a perfectly clear understanding. We entered the government for a limited period with limited aims. We did not enter it in order to straighten up a mess that has been developing for years. Even in theory, it is impossible for any agency to rectify the domestic, economic, social, administrative, and cultural situation in a period of time no longer than a few months.

It is impossible because the situation has become serious. It has come to require not a mere re-examination of choices, but a re-examination of the agencies that implement these daily choices. It is not easy for us to oppose corruption, decay, and irresponsibility in 1 or 2 months, or ven in 6 months. It is impossible because this cancer is now present in all the agencies. It has become perhaps the basic or primary disease of which Moroccan society complians and under whose weight it groans. Therefore, things have been this way, and it is perfectly clear that they still are.

12224

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DIRECTOR GENERAL OF NATIONAL SECURITY SERVICE INTERVIEWED

Tunis AL-SABAH in Arabic 19 Apr 84 p 4

[Interview with Maj Gen Zine El Abidine Ben Ali, Director General of the National Security Service by Muhsin Hamdi on the Occasion of the Anniversary of Tunisians Taking Over Security Services: "A Period of Social, Political, Economic Change That Has Its Shortcomings, Advantages and Disadvantages"]

[Text] Keeping up with change is essential.

Security in the streets is one of the principal functions of security personnel.

The 18th of April 1956 is not a date that is forgotten by the Tunisian people in general and by police and security officers in particular. It was on that date that an important event happened for the first time: Tunisians took over from the French administration jurisdiction over security.

At the time the event was more like a hope or a dream. It was the extraordinary leader, Habib Bourguiba who was behind it: he was the one who led, saved and made it happen. There is nothing unusual about security men, whether they are officers or officials, considering that anniversary one that is dear to them. It is also not unusual for Tunisian citizens to feel that behind that history is a symbol of sovereignty and a sense of liberation from a bygone administration during which oppressive colonialists had continued to impose their policies and their wishes on them.

In 28 years Tunisian security officers have shown, after taking over that responsibility, that they were worthy of that responsibility and that they were worthy of the intent of the policy which Bourguiba had pursued to get Tunisian society out of a course of backwardness and onto one that leads to modernization and liberation.

Bourguiba was pursuing a policy to get the Tunisian people out of a phase in which they were being trained to practice democracy and into a phase of exercising that democracy in full and unconditionally.

Like all other peoples who aspire to something better, the Tunisian people have gone through a few internal crises. Most of these were fleeting crises, and it was justice and the law that had the final word in those matters.

Anyone who mentions justice and the law ought to remember the system of regulations. He ought not to forget the men who enforce that system of regulations and who watch over the principle of respecting it so that citizens can feel secure and have peace of mind. This is something that the government has adopted as its valuable mission; the government has taken it upon itself to carry out this mission and bring about that security and peace of mind for citizens.

On 18 April 1984 security personnel in Tunisia are still on the job, ready to carry out the same mission they assumed 28 years ago.

On this occasion we interviewed the director general of national security on the anniversary of Tunisians taking over the security agency. We interviewed the director general about the sacred task that security personnel have been charged with, and we asked him about recent events in the country.

This man is Maj Gen Zine El Abidine Ben Ali, the director general of national security. He was interviewed by the colleague, Muhsin Hamdi. The interview follows:

[Question] What does this esteemed anniversary suggest to you: the anniversary of Tunisians taking over security functions in the country? The security corps is celebrating that anniversary these days. It is an anniversary that will be remembered by the Tunisian people throughout the ages.

[Answer] Every year the month of April stands out as a prominent milestone in the modern history of Tunisia and in the memorable events of that history. It was in April 1956 that the Tunisian people realized one of their most wonderful and splendid victories under the leadership of their extraordinary leader, the great fighter, His Excellency President Habib Bourguiba. Immediately after taking over power, the president moved quickly to take back the powers of national security and put them to work to serve and strengthen all parts of the young Tunisian state. After the anniversary of the declaration of Tunisia's independence was celebrated on 20 March 1956 and after the Tunisian government was formed under the leadership of the Great Fighter on 17 April 1956, a great step was taken by the national government on the following day, that is, on 18 April 1956. A decisive decision was made, requiring all security agencies to be run and staffed by Tunisians. Security agencies were to be fully staffed by nationals dedicated to serve the interests of the people, look after their gains, support their sovereignty and firmly establish the cornerstones of their modern state under the leadership of its founder, its builder and its protector, his excellency, the president, may God preserve him. Thus, the 18th of April 1956 has been and will remain a memorable day in history and in the people's minds. It was on that day that the victorious leader's intent to seize the powers of security enforcement from the hands of foreign usurpers materialized. These powers were restored to the nation and were dedicated to serve the people's interests in freedom, democracy and an honorable life that is protected by stability, tranquillity and the rule of law.

Therefore, this esteemed anniversary as you described it suggests to me, to you and to citizens in general a sense of dignity and pride.

[Question] What gains can the director general of national security say have

been achieved by the fact that security and police agencies have been taken over by Tunisian citizens?

[Answer] The gains that have been achieved by having security agencies taken over by Tunisians 28 years ago are undoubtedly numerous and varied. They may be summarized [by saying] this action brought pride and dignity to Tunisian citizens who are now masters in their own country. In addition, Tunisians feel secure and reassured about themselves, their property and their honor which are protected under a system of laws and by freedom and justice. These constitute the common denominator among all citizens.

[Question] Several years have gone by since that great event. Like every country that aspires to modernize itself, a few crises were inevitable, and Tunisia experienced a few regrettable events such as those of 26 January, 3 January and others. How do you see the future of security in the country--the security of citizens and that of society--from the point of view of a man in the field who oversees the process of providing and strengthening security?

[Answer] There is no doubt that any society which goes through a period of social, political and economic change and aspires to a better future will find some shortcomings in all areas along its course of development. Tunisia is subject to the same principle.

Because Tunisia aspires to keep up with advanced countries, it is affected by positive as well as negative events that occur around it. This includes crimes and a variety of social crises that have to do with the general development which Tunisia is experiencing in all areas.

Therefore, we think that the future of security in the country, whether it is for citizens or for society in general, ought to stay in step with that development that is going on. This may be done by modernizing the security agency and developing its staff ethically and professionally in a manner that is consistent with what is required by developments in crime. They can thus play a satisfactory role in the context of a concept of security that comprises modern security.

[Question] You've returned to the General Administration of National Security. Perhaps the most ordinary citizen can notice the increased and energetic activity of security men in streets and neighborhoods in all parts of the country. Are these emergency measures that were required by a specific policy for a certain period of time, or are these measures that will last for a long time?

[Answer] It is no secret that security personnel act basically to watch over the stability of security under all conditions, in ordinary as well as extraordinary circumstances.

In this context methods of action and measures that can be adjusted to circumstances and that are favorable to programs of the plan that is being made are to be sought. Available means are to be put to good use; coordination among various security crews is to be carried out; and implementation of the preventive as well as the practical aspects of these programs is to be monitored.

Therefore, providing a security cover and having security men appear in streets

and neighborhoods are measures that are basically linked with thoroughly mastering the methods of operation and utilizing the means that are available. This is what we did. The measures we took were not emergency measures. They were measures that come under the principal functions of security personnel and their ongoing activity.

[Question] Regarding security in Tunisia, is it true that citizens do not feel secure and are not reassured by the presence of policemen nearby? Is that point of view something that was prescribed by recent events, or is the underlying principle and rule the fact that Tunisia is a country of security and tranquillity?

[Answer] It is true that Tunisian citizens, like citizens of other countries, are reassured by the presence of security men in the various areas where they live.

However, the fact that Tunisian citizens are extremely sensitive makes them readily affected by some criminal incidents that are discussed and by the over-statements that sometimes accompany such incidents.

But contrary to what was mentioned in your question, Tunisian citizens in general feel reassured because of the security and stability that distinguish Tunisia. Upon my life, this is the rule!

[Question] If we were to discuss some of the transgressions in which security officers were involved, such as the recent case in which a police guard was involved...

What in your opinion is the role the General Administration for National Security ought to play to curb this phenomenon?

[Answer] What I want to emphasize to you is that the security corps, its officers and its staff are good people who work day and night with sincere devotion and dedication to provide security for citizens and shore up protection for the regime in accordance with the legal oath they take when they join the corps.

Although there may be some transgressions committed by some elements, which can be found in any sector, the administration does not condone that. It has an office that concerns itself with investigating such transgressions. That office takes all the measures that are required in this regard.

In my opinion this is an unusual case that is to be taken care of, but it is not to be used as a standard for comparison.

[Question] Misconduct and abuse of power were points mentioned in the report by the committee that was charged with the task of investigating the recent events. What do you think are the means by which the security corps can be protected from succumbing to such evil?

[Answer] The answer to your question lies in having members of the corps do their duty and devote themselves fully to carrying it out. Members of the corps are to show absolute loyalty and constancy to the state in the context of the mission that has been entrusted to all of them. In a letter of greeting and

instruction I addressed to the national security corps after I was appointed general director of national security I made an appeal in that regard. As you know that letter was published in national newspapers.

[Question] Security personnel have a sacred duty that manifests itself in watching over the security of citizens and providing them with protection and peace of mind. They also have rights that are prescribed by the nature of their work and their mission. Where is the umbrella of social protection for security personnel? Where has it gone, and how far will the administration go to protect security men from the pressures of material and spiritual life?

[Answer] Yes, security personnel do have a sacred duty whose aim basically is to protect citizens, watch over their security and provide them with peace of mind.

As security personnel carry out their mission in this field in the hustle and bustle of their daily activities, they face a variety of problems and are constantly pursued by hardships and difficulties. Security personnel deserve to work to provide that which will ensure that their standard of living will be raised and their material and spiritual conditions improved in the context of an umbrella of professional protection and social care that were provided for them by the government of the greatest fighter. The elements of this umbrella of protection come under the attention of the state by having the state continue its protection for domestic security forces, since they constitute the protective armor for the country, the mainstay of the state and the regime and the principal supporter of the people's gains.

[Question] What can the director general of national security tell security personnel on this great occasion?

[Answer] I take advantage of this opportunity to extend my warmest congratulations to security personnel as we celebrate together the esteemed memory which we share with the Tunisian people.

I would not miss this opportunity to express to them my satisfaction with the efforts they are making in carrying out their sacred mission. I urge them all to do more and to offer more in serving the interests of the public.

Finally, on their behalf I declare our loyalty and gratitude to His Excellency the president, the man who is responsible for that great event in the history of Tunisia, Bourguiba's Tunisia.

8592

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WESTERN SAHARA

SAHARAN AMBASSADOR PREDICTS VICTORY DESPITE WESTERN AID

Havana BOHEMIA in Spanish No 13, 30 Mar 84 pp 20-21

[Interview with Bulahe Mohamed Fadel, Saharan ambassador to Cuba, by Armando Lopez Rivera: "Misfortunes of Hassan II"; date and place not given]

[Text] "All the fatherland or martyrdom" is not merely a slogan. It shows the firm determination of the Saharan Arab people to continue the struggle until liberating the last inch of their territory now occupied by the Moroccan aggressor.

The confrontation has gone on for more than 8 years. In spite of its military power and aid from the West, Morocco has had to give up terrain--about 90 percent liberated--and its troops seek refuge behind a fortified wall in the so-called "useful triangle" (strategic region of Aaiun, Semara and Bu Craa where there are major deposits of phosphate and oil).

Nevertheless, the Rabat regime ignores the resolutions of the international community and the OAU concerning the Western Sahara right to self-determination and independence. Hassan II rejects proposals for dialogue between the warring parties and begins a dangerous military escalation supported by his partners in Washington and Paris. The consequences also affect the painful situation of the Moroccan people.

The Saharan people, aware that "the price for the right is blood," are willing to pay any price to frustrate the expansionist plans of the invader and completely liberate their native land.

In an exclusive interview with VERDE OLIVO, Bulahe Mohamed Fadel, ambassador from the SDAR, discussed the major aspects of this war "forgotten" by the Western news media.

[Question] How do you evaluate Morocco's military situation in the Western Sahara?

[Answer] The Hassan II regime has failed resoundingly in the Saharan territory. The people with their vanguard, the POLISARIO Front, frustrated its attempts to exterminate us as a nation.

They have suffered massive human and material losses and they have had to concentrate their forces at stable points. After the 1978 and 1979 offensives that culminated in the liberation of a large part of our national territory, construction of the "wall of shame" began in the so-called useful triangle (Aaiun, Semara, Bu Craa) which contains major deposits of phosphate and oil. These riches seem to be the most useful to them and the objective of their aggression.

The construction of the fortified wall does not limit our combat actions. We have demonstrated to the Moroccan army and its advisers that the will of our people goes beyond the Pentagon strategy and the expansionist policy of King Hassan II. We strike at the Rabat forces behind this defensive line which they thought was impregnable.

[Question] Does the United States participate directly in the aggression against the Saharan people?

[Answer] After the historic battle of Guelta de Zemmur where more than 2,000 of the enemy were killed, the United States directly intervened in the Western Sahara conflict. Yankee military strategists came to the zone and more or less formed a joint staff which they call the Joint Military Commission. Since then, the Moroccan army has been directed totally by U.S. "advisers."

They underestimated our people by thinking that U.S. intervention would intimidate them and make them lay down their arms. Contrary to what they thought, the military actions of the Saharan soldiers have defeated Hassan II's aggressor forces. The monarch had to again resort to help from Washington and Paris. His tour through both capitals in search of "advice," military and financial support lasted almost a month.

When he returned, the king began construction of a new "wall" almost 700 kilometers long around the "useful triangle." To do this, he mobilized tens of thousands of soldiers well armed with combat vehicles, artillery pieces and aviation. He is trying to convert that territory into a military camp with mines, barbed wire and fortresses.

[Question] Can this reinforcement and deployment be interpreted as a military escalation by the Moroccan regime?

[Answer] Without question. Morocco aspires to recover the lost terrain and is preparing for a new offensive. It wants us to have a direct confrontation with those forces, a regular war. It is known that the Moroccan army has more materiel than we do but we are not going to fall into the trap of being lured to positions more favorable to it where the power of its armaments can be imposed. We will keep the initiative and we will choose the time and place to strike the enemy, harass him continually.

We think the "wall" and the massive mobilization of the Rabat troops are condemned to failure. They are not going to recover the liberated territory nor can they intimidate our people. We have something that the United States, France and King Hassan cannot supply the Moroccan army: motivation, confidence

in victory, the will to win and the right of the just cause we defend. These are our soldiers' main weapons.

All our people are mobilized. Men and women are trained and ready to take up arms to defend the fatherland and the Saharan revolution. If we do not have weapons, we take them away from the Moroccans. They have traditionally been our main supplier for armaments and ammunition. The mobilization and preparation of the people are our best guarantees to make Hassan II's plans fail.

Morocco is in a difficult situation, at a disadvantage. The long war in the Sahara has taken its toll which affects the internal situation of the Rabat regime. It knows that if it could not defeat us militarily in the first years when we barely had the necessary means, it is even less likely to defeat us after almost 10 years of military experience and training with a well-organized army, well trained and armed.

They will not achieve a single military success. Their new plans are condemned to failure. However, we cannot underestimate the enemy, either, and the threat of a spreading conflict. We warn the international public about the danger for all the region of the military escalation by the Moroccan regime.

[Question] You indicated that the war in the Western Sahara negatively affects Morocco. Could you explain how this is revealed?

[Answer] The Moroccan economy is bankrupt. It survives due to financial injections from the United States, France and Saudi Arabia. The social crisis has become more acute. There were demonstrations in most of the cities against the regime's policy which is characterized by exploitation and a complete sell-out to foreign monopolies. For the first time, the people spontaneously go out into the streets demanding the right to education, health, democracy, the slightest expression of freedom. However, there will not be a solution to the economic and social problems of the Moroccan people as long as the war in the Sahara continues. It consumes the major part of the Rabat budget.

Also the conflicts between the throne and the top officers of the armed forces have intensified. The army is a constant threat to the king, pressured by the ghost of coups d'etat like those in 1971 and 1972 and the failed attempt last year. Many officers, some close to the king, were arrested and others disappeared. Hassan II does not trust his officers and has placed the leadership of several departments related to the armed forces and security in the hands of U.S. and French "advisers." The monarch controls others himself.

Last year, 1983, was one of the most difficult in the history of Morocco, both on the economic and social planes as well as in the diplomatic and military spheres. As we stated before, there will be no solution to these problems as long as Morocco remains in the Western Sahara. Therefore, we exhort the Moroccan people and army to rebel and break their chains to avoid greater suffering.

[Question] Do you feel the Moroccan intransigence to begin direct negotiations with the POLISARIO Front is due to the support it receives from the West?

[Answer] Hassan II's intransigence against the peace plan of the 19th OAU Summit Conference and the current military escalation are explained by the support that the United States, France and other countries offer, whether by supplying "advisers" and arms or financing its war plans.

Washington is interested in a strong Morocco that can fulfill the assigned role, replacing the regime of the Shah or Sadat: an outpost of imperialism in Africa and the Arab world.

Morocco defies African and international opinion, rejecting direct negotiations "to achieve a cease-fire before holding a referendum on self-determination free of foreign military or administrative coercion and under the supervision of the United Nations and the OAU in Western Sahara."

We believe the African countries must make the OAU resolutions and statutes respected. The OAU, one of the greatest and most noble achievements of the countries on the continent, cannot continue to be threatened by Moroccan intransigence.

[Question] Will the SDAR attend the next OAU summit?

[Answer] The African countries are convinced that there cannot be a summit conference without the participation of the SDAR. We voluntarily stayed away from the recent ministerial conference in Addis Ababa and last year we did not attend the summit. The OAU was going through a difficult time and we sacrificed our right for the sake of unity. However, it is not fair for the African countries to continue permitting Morocco to endanger the existence of the OAU, prevent the meetings or reject recommendations and resolutions of the organization.

Therefore, we will be in Conakry (Guinea). We hope Sekou Toure, the host, will take at least a neutral position.

[Question] What are the priority tasks of the Saharan people?

[Answer] Our revolution has two basic tasks: the war of national liberation and the construction of a new society.

The will of our people is expressed in the motto of the Fifth Congress of the POLISARIO Front: "All the fatherland or martyrdom." This is the feeling of the men and women of the Saharan people, the veteran soldiers who, at this moment, confront the war machine of the Moroccan aggressor army.

We make massive efforts in the spheres of health, education and literacy and in the general preparation of the people. We have taken a qualitative leap in improving the standard of living.

In diplomatic activity, we received recognition from Mauritania which is a lesson for Morocco. (During the Ould Dadah regime, it participated in the 1975 Madrid tripartite agreement and in the aggression against the Western Sahara.) Upper Volta was added to the group of African countries that recognize the SDAR. There are now 29, a considerable majority within the OAU. This is also an expression of the legality of the struggle and the inevitable victory of the Saharan people.

All this demonstrates the isolation of Morocco and the international community's rejection of its colonial policy. The coming months will be decisive for us and the monarchy. We have international solidarity and the will of our people to continue the struggle at any price. It is a difficult, crucial time. The democratic and progressive forces of the world have the historic responsibility of showing solidarity with us and supporting the struggle of our people, the responsibility of stopping the aggression and the suffering of a nation, victim for years of aggression by Morocco and its allies.

I do not want to end this interview without using the occasion that VERDE OLIVO, the official organ of the Revolutionary Armed Forces, provides me to send a greeting to: the Cuban people who show us solidarity; their vanguard, the Communist Party; and our friend and defender of the rights of the peoples, Commander Fidel Castro. I wish you many successes in the revolutionary progress of the heroic Cuban people.

7717

CSO: 4548/1

CONTROVERSY OVER 'PRIVATE' COMPANIES DISCUSSED

London AL-HAWADITH in Arabic No 1423, 10 Feb 84 pp 54, 57

[Article: "Who Owns the Private Companies in Kuwait?"]

[Text] After a rational solution to the Suq al-Manakh crisis was found the problem of the ownership of private corporations has emerged.

Recently, after a slow struggle which has lasted more than 17 months, the skilled doctors who have been treating the Suq al-Manakh crisis have found a treatment by which the patient can be brought out from the intensive care unit to the convalescent room. It will also stem the conjectures of the Kuwaiti press about which businessmen are candidates for declaring bankruptcy, or for handing over their business affairs to a legal custodian. These conjectures have helped spread an atmosphere of mistrust in the financial market, and have made the future of this market even more uncertain.

What is the latest with regard to the debts of Suq al-Manakh?

For several weeks the attention of the government and the market has been focused on solving the problem of one of the three principal investors in the market, Shaykh Khalifah 'Abdallah al-Khalifah considering the fact that the paper value of his debts amounts to approximately 1 billion Kuwaiti dinars, which is equivalent to \$3.4 billion.

During the last week of January 1984 the concerned agencies reached a decision. The Kuwaiti Ministry of Justice completed all of the measures involving collateral needed for Shaykh Khalifah 'Abdallah al-Khalifah's loan, and the Kuwaiti Foreign Trade, Contracting and Investment Company began to transfer the amounts owed to Shaykh Khalifah's creditors to the compensation company. There are no more than 70 of these creditors.

The Beginning of the Crisis

The Suq al-Manakh crisis actually started when the market evolved into a stock exchange handling stocks in public stock corporations, most of which were founded by Kuwaiti citizens. These companies were registered in Gulf countries, particularly in Bahrain and the UAE. Before long the market acquired great renown both locally and internationally as a stock exchange in which big profits could be made in a short time by trading shares of recently founded companies and those still in the process of incorporating.

As time passed Suq al-Manakh became the preferred pastime for many Kuwaitis and citizens of other Gulf countries, and for others who operated in the market under Kuwaiti names.

In May 1981 big jumps in the market's activities began to occur, due in equal measure to several international and local factors. Internationally, the financial market was passing through a stage of declining interest rates on Eurodollars with continued uncertainty about the direction other currencies would take. Locally, the Kuwaiti market was enjoying an abundant money supply, though its opportunities for investment were limited. Thus a number of investors with abundant cash surpluses began to show interest in the stock exchange.

At first, the official stock exchange was the focus of interest. But this interest shifted gradually to its counterpart, the Suq al-Manakh, because most of the shares being traded were inexpensive, and the goal of these investors was, of course, to locate opportunities for speculation with which they could achieve quick profits through stock trading, and such opportunities were relatively scarce in the traditional areas of investment.

Several factors helped to bring about the market's sudden boom. The following are the most prominent:

1. Increased use of "forward market" deals, in which the stocks were transferred from the owner to the buyer immediately while the price was paid with a post-dated check, so that the price actually became due on a specific date. The price was based on the stock's market prices plus a premium which represented interest on the amount of the delayed payment, and perhaps also an anticipated price rise by the time the payment became due. In view of the fact that "delayed" sales of this kind are illegal in Kuwait, the factor of trust between the buyer and seller formed the basis for concluding the deal.
2. Increased commercial bank loans to the private sector in 1981 and 1982 created surplus liquidity in the local market. A portion was transferred to the Suq al-Manakh with intensified speculation therein.
3. Increased liquidity caused by government expenditures in 1981, particularly in the form of amortization of real estate and certain other development programs.
4. A large inflow of currency from abroad, in the form of Kuwaiti currency which had previously been spent abroad and was being returned, and in the form of new influxes from Saudis and citizens of the Gulf countries for purposes of investing in the Kuwaiti market.
5. Increased use of long-term credits of foreign banking units in Bahrain, in the form of loans and discounted checks.

The Outbreak of the Crisis

The Suq al-Manakh "game" continued to be played according to the rules by the main players until September 1982 when one of the players decided to violate the prevailing custom by proceeding to cash a post-dated check which turned out to be covered by insufficient funds. As the news spread, the banks were inundated with post-dated checks, and the real flimsiness of the backing behind the contracts for post-dated sales thus began to emerge. Stock prices declined sharply and the game collapsed on the players.

At this point the Kuwaiti government quickly ordered a halt to the markets' activity. It made an inventory of post-dated checks and found that there were 28,000 such checks with a total value on paper of \$94 billion.

Since the collapse of the Suq al-Manakh about 6,500 speculators and investors in the market's stocks have been trying to settle their debts and disentangle themselves financially. They are doing this under the direction of the arbitration committee which was formed by the state for this purpose. So far, the legal custodian has seized the financial assets of more than 220 people. The government has not yet made any official decisions regarding bankruptcies in order to isolate and settle the crisis before lawsuits deriving from it reach the courts, which, in any event, are already swamped with cases which are being decided.

In this context the activity to settle the debts of Shaykh Khalifah 'Abdallah al-Khalifah came as the first glimmer of hope in finding a solution to the unsettled debt crisis. The sheep do not disappear and the keeper is not killed.

Shaykh Khalifah's debt, which amounted to \$3.4 billion, was settled "in the family" after the arbitration committee decided to turn the matter over to the al-Sabah family, of which Shaykh Khalifah is a member.

Responding to the request of the arbitration committee, the al-Sabah family formed a family committee of four members to come up with appropriate solutions. As a result of its deliberations and negotiations with all of the creditors and debtors, the family committee seems to have come up with a solution that could form the basis needed for a complete settlement of the market crisis.

This settlement requires Shaykh Khalifah's creditors to pay for the stocks at their prices on the date the transaction was concluded, in addition to a 25 percent premium above the value of the stocks. For his part, Shaykh Khalifah is required to pay only the price of these stocks. [As published] The effect of this settlement is that Shaykh Khalifah's debt is reduced to 480 million Kuwaiti dinars, or about \$1.6 billion. It should be noted that many of the delayed payment transactions in Suq al-Manakh carried premiums amounting sometimes to 400 percent. A decision was made that the payment would be completed in four instalments over a period of 18 months.

Although the proposed basis does not treat both parties even-handedly, it is, in current circumstances, considered a reasonable basis for settling the problems caused by the collapse of Suq al-Manakh and eliminating most of its negative

effects on the general economic situation in Kuwait. In fact, over 70 percent of the former speculators and investors in the Suq al-Manakh have expressed their readiness to adopt this basis for settling their debts, taking into consideration the need for applying it flexibly, and taking the special circumstances of each case into consideration on an individual basis.

On the basis of this solution the Kuwaiti Foreign Trade, Contracting and Investment Company--of which the state owns 96 percent--has been assigned to finance the payments owed to the former traders in the Suq al-Manakh. These are guaranteed by Shaykh Khalifah's assets and possessions. It should be noted that Shaykh Khalifah's friends and relatives have also offered additional sums to augment the value of his security.

It is not clear whether the Kuwaiti government helped materially to provide the necessary money for the Kuwait Trade and Contracting Company, which has undertaken to finance the floating of the Suq al-Manakh stocks. However, in the middle of last January the company paid the first instalment due to the concerned former traders in the market's stocks. The amount of the instalment was 160 million Kuwaiti dinars, or about \$546 million.

This payment has stimulated the Kuwaiti financial markets and has recently given them cause to hope that a solution to the persistent crisis may be emerging, and that the number of businessmen who are candidates for bankruptcy may be limited. However, the Suq al-Manakh remains the guarantor of its eventful history, which is replete with surprises. With the emergence of initiatives for solving the crisis, indications of a new crisis have appeared. This crisis relates to the future of Kuwaiti corporations, and concerns commercial trading in their stocks before it has been determined that they have operated at a profit for at least 3 years.

Despite the legal restriction it has become quite evident that time and again these companies' stocks have been traded before the 3 years required by law have passed. In light of this legislation a Kuwaiti court ruled recently that any exchange of these companies' stocks prior to 3 years after they are founded is invalid. This ruling jolted the financial market, although a higher court later reversed it.

The question now being asked in Kuwait is: Who owns the stock of the nation's corporations?

To answer this question Kuwait's Ministry of Trade commissioned a special committee to prepare a report on these companies, amidst increasing parliamentary demands that a parliamentary committee of inquiry be formed to clarify the circumstances of these companies.

Kuwait's minister of trade, Mr Jasim al-Marzuq, has revealed that the report of the ministerial committee emphasizes that these companies have committed all kinds of infractions. These violations include the fact that certain companies are engaged in activities other than those for which they were founded. They also include individual violations committed by certain officials of these companies. The minister considered calling the companies' plenary sessions to

a meeting at which the violations shown in the official report on the companies would be presented so that appropriate arrangements to correct these violations could be made.

In this context the minister made it clear that the plenary session may determine the significance of certain violations and whether they can be settled, such as debts for example. There are also violations which require their perpetrators to be held legally accountable. Nevertheless, the minister decided that for corporate officials to offer their companies' stocks for sale before 3 years have passed constitutes a violation of article 109 of the law under which these corporations were founded, even though these stocks were not traded officially in the official stock exchange and were not registered in the companies' books, but were traded based on the factor of mutual trust.

According to Kuwaiti economic circles the overwhelming majority of the 39 corporations founded after 1981 violated the law by selling their stocks in violation of article 109 of the corporation law. The exchange of these stocks became so brisk that it has now become impossible to know who really owns the stock in Kuwaiti corporations. These circles add that during the last 3 years the value of stock transfer deals involving these companies amounted to 4 billion Kuwaiti dinars, or about \$13.6 billion. Moreover, if the course of these deals continues, it would not only create an impossible situation, but a new crisis would follow on the heels of the Suq al-Manakh crisis.

In light of this situation economic circles in Kuwait hope that the Kuwaiti parliament will decide to enact a new law which will concern itself with the current circumstances of the corporations. Informed economic circles point out that one of the fundamental complications that make the circumstances of these companies more difficult is that they also face the problem of post-dated checks, and no one in Kuwait knows how many such checks will be returned for insufficient funds.

9123

CSO: 4404/380

INSURANCE INDUSTRY INVESTMENT POLICIES DISCUSSED

Kuwait AL-QABAS in Arabic 7 Mar 84 p 7

[Article: "Investment Policies in Kuwait's Insurance Industry: Increased Public Expenditures in 1982 Enabled Kuwaiti Companies To Expand Their Activities to the Gulf States and Syria"]

[Text] The insurance industry is playing an important role in all aspects of business and industry and is helping to streamline international trade. Since its establishment in Kuwait 20 years ago the insurance industry has had a strong market. It has connections with the principal reinsurance centers in London and New York. As a result, merchants and industrialists are able to obtain locally insurance coverage against most insurable risks.

In a study of insurance companies in Kuwait prepared by a securities group, the subject of the principal parties in insurance against accidents were discussed in light of specific factors. The study was particularly concerned with investment policies because of their fundamental role in determining the overall profitability of the insurance industry. It also had a section which dealt in detail with aspects of life insurance in Kuwait.

The stock of the four national insurance companies is registered on the Kuwait stock market, but trading volume has been limited in normal circumstances because their owners prefer to hold on to them in view of the continuously increasing profitability of these companies.

The insurance industry experienced steady, although not tremendous, growth during its first years. Its revenues from non-life insurance premiums amounted to nearly 16 million Kuwaiti dinars at the end of 1973. But the steep increase in oil prices during the following decade led to tremendous expansion at all levels of economic activity. Public spending also increased tremendously on its own, rising from 450 million Kuwaiti dinars to 3.5 billion Kuwaiti dinars during the period from 1973 to 1982. The tremendous strength of these sums was directed towards creating and expanding the basic structure of the Kuwaiti economy. This factor, and the accompanying increase in population, has helped fuel a continually increasing demand for all types of insurance. Revenues from insurance premiums doubled, amounting to 33 million Kuwaiti dinars at the end of 1976, and doubled again to reach 66 million Kuwaiti dinars at the end of 1982. Furthermore, total face value of insurance in effect rose from 500 million to more than 10 billion Kuwaiti dinars during the decade from 1973 to 1982.

However high these figures may seem, they conceal much higher rates of growth experienced by the four national insurance companies. As originally intended, the insurance company law of 1961 helped to encourage the development of the national insurance companies at the expense of foreign companies. At the end of 1973 the number of foreign companies operating in Kuwait fell to 17, with a market share of about 26 percent. Ten years later the number dropped to 15, with only a 14 percent share of total insurance premium revenues.

In addition to an enhanced position in the local market, the first three companies expanded their sphere of activity to include the Gulf States and other Arab countries, such as Jordan and Lebanon.

The nature of the insurance industry is to protect policy holders from financial losses as a result of events which might happen in the future. The premiums which are paid by the insured for that protection are due and are paid in the first period of insurance, so there is an interval between the time of payment and the occurrence of the event, in addition to the period of time needed to investigate claims in order for compensation to be paid. During that period revenues from premiums are under the control of the insurance company, which invest them, along with its accumulated reserves, to earn a specific rate of interest. Therefore, two very important factors are timely receipt of premium payments, and the extent to which the company is successful in obtaining a satisfactory return on its investments.

The doubling of returns on investment during the period from 1980 to 1982 played an extremely important part in the tremendous increase in declared profits. But here the expression "returns on investment" needs further explanation. These sums include not only interest, profits and rents, but capital gains on the sale of stock and real estate which constitute an essential part of the investment portfolio. In fact, this capital surplus, which may amount to 70 percent of total income, must be considered accumulation of the basis of the company's assets. There is therefore a clear bookkeeping distinction between that and actual income gained in the investment portfolio.

In view of the fact that achieving capital gains depends on profitable transaction opportunities, and since the insurance companies have participated in one form or another in financing stock trading on credit, income from investment is expected to decrease in 1983.

9123

CSO: 4404/380

REFINERY UPGRADING AIMED AT INTERNATIONAL COMPETITION

Kuwait AL-WATAN in Arabic 29 Mar 84 p 22

[Article by Samir Yasin: "Kuwaiti Refineries To Produce 750,000 Barrels After Upgrading; Kuwaiti Oil Company Deserves the Title of Eighth Sister!"]

[Text] Engineer Khalid Abu Hamrah, director of the al-Shu'aybah Refinery and deputy appointed member for industrialization in the National Oil Company, said that the plans to upgrade the three Kuwaiti refineries are aimed at raising the production capacity to 750,000 barrels per day.

Engineer Abu Hamrah, in a lecture that he delivered at the Kuwait Institute for Technology at the beginning of its educational term, pointed out that the current refineries suffer from outdated technology and can no longer keep pace with the development of the international and local oil markets.

Engineer Abu Hamrah said that the Kuwaiti Oil Company deserved to be called the "eighth sister" on the international scene, since it has begun to compete with the international "seven sisters" firms.

Engineer Abu Hamrah, who was presented by Muhammad al-Salih, began his lecture with a review of the principles upon which the oil refining plan in Kuwait is based. These principles include the following:

1. Raise the capacity of the three oil refineries operating in the country to a maximum of not more than 700 to 750,000 barrels per day.
2. Modernize the operating refineries to provide petroleum products to the local market, and to provide export quantities of good quality, up to international specifications, capable of competing in world markets.
3. Produce suitable fuels for domestic consumption, especially for electric energy generators, factories and refineries, at reduced cost.
4. Operate the refineries economically and make use of medium-grade products for the ideal use of industrial units' capabilities, through the exchange of products among the three refineries.

5. Industrialize natural gas and make use of the gases produced from refining oil.
6. Preserve the environment and limit pollution, in addition to raising the standards of industrial security and safety and raising the levels of workers.

The lecture then presented a historical review of the development of the oil refining industry, concluding with a description of the general features of the three refineries located in Kuwait.

They are the Port 'Abdallah Refinery and the refineries in the port of al-Shu'aybah and al-Ahmadi.

After that, he turned to a discussion of the projects to modernize these refineries. He summarized the studies that have been conducted and upon which the modernization projects were based. He talked in detail about the capacity and potentialities of these refineries before and after modernization. He made it clear that the modernization projects are constituted as follows:

1. The project to modernize the Port al-Ahmadi refinery, at an approximate cost of 295 million Kuwaiti dinars, is expected to begin operation in the middle of this year, 1984.
2. The project of new additions to the al-Ahmadi refinery, at an approximate cost of 425 million Kuwaiti dinars, with an operating date of the end of 1985.
3. The project to modernize the Port 'Abdallah Refinery, at a cost of about 600 million Kuwaiti dinars, with an operating date of 1986.

The lecturer stated that the basic purpose of the modernization projects was to play a part in increasing the oil sector's ability for international competition. The Kuwaiti Oil Company has come to be called the "eighth sister," which signifies that it is on the same competitive level with the large world oil companies known as the seven sisters.

That is being achieved through raising and improving the processing capability of these refineries, with the goal of upgrading the economic returns of Kuwaiti oil, in addition to achieving complete flexibility in operations and production which will result in a better ability to compete in world markets, as well as fulfilling the country's fuel requirements.

At the end of the lecture, Eng Khalid Abu Hamrah briefly summarized these projects' requirements for trained manpower. He stressed the need for them to be provided so as to be prepared to carry out their jobs as soon as each project becomes operational. He said that the Kuwaiti National Oil Company has in fact begun a program of the necessary hiring and training to achieve this goal.

At al-Shu'aybah Harbor yesterday, the vacuum distillation tower, which will be attached to the vacuum distillation unit in the second stage of the al-Ahmadi modernization project, being implemented by the Kuwaiti National Oil Company, was unloaded. This tower is considered one of the largest pieces of equipment known to the Kuwaiti Oil Company, or rather, it is considered one of the largest towers in the world. Its net weight, that is without the accompanying securing devices, is 860 tons, while its total weight is about 1000 tons. Its diameter ranges between 12.5 and 4.5 meters, and its height is more than 58 meters. This tower, which is considered a basic part of the vacuum distillation unit in the new project additions, and which is supplied with 80,000 barrels per day of heavy oil, whose sulphur has been removed in the heavy oil treatment unit, is equipped with more than 50 openings, with the widest having a diameter of 72 inches and the smallest just 1 inch. The size of this tower was not chosen arbitrarily, but was the result of solid, serious studies. They proved in terms of economic feasibility that the construction of a vacuum distillation unit having one tower of this size and weight would save more than \$5 million, compared to what would be expended building two medium-sized units containing two medium towers.

It is worth noting that the arrival of the tower, preparatory to its installation during the next few days at the site of the new additions project in the al-Ahmadi Refinery, is considered to be within the sphere of the rapid efforts that the Kuwaiti National Oil Company is making to guarantee the completion of the al-Ahmadi modernization project, with its two stages, within the dates set and according to the prescribed plans.

7005

CSO: 4404/433

STEPS TO REVITALIZE ECONOMY TAKEN

Kuwait AL-TALI'AH in Arabic No 837, 11 Apr 84 p 6

[Article: "Decisions to Revitalize the Economy"]

[Text] Last Sunday the cabinet made several decisions concerning revitalizing the local economy. They were distributed through the following sectors: trade, contracting and construction, real estate, industry and labor.

In the trade sector, the cabinet decided to abolish the restrictions on the re-exporting of goods, with the exception of subsidized and petroleum goods. They will expedite the establishment of a free zone, form a special committee to simplify customs regulations and to review the fees for re-exported goods, arrange for the periodic review of port fees and investigate the granting of new licenses, so that they will be restricted to Kuwaitis who themselves pursue commercial activities.

In the contracting and construction sector, the cabinet decided to restrict the implementation of state projects to local contractors, except within tight limits and special conditions as stipulated by the decree. It divides large and recurring projects into small parts, to be implemented by medium and small contractors, along with encouraging them to join together to implement large projects and to make use of the capabilities of Kuwaiti factories.

In the real estate sector, the cabinet decided that the government would not build buildings to house its non-Kuwaiti employees and to give this opportunity to the private sector for investment or for rent. It will begin the planning of areas, whose planning had been stopped, due to the need for housing units there.

In the industrial sector, the cabinet decided to study ways of supporting and protecting national industries, which could develop after a limited period of support and protection, and to study the situation of industries that it cannot establish. It will conduct strategic studies of the fields for which industries could be established, excluding the oil industries.

In the labor sector, the cabinet decided to work toward the provision of foreign labor in a regulated and organized way for governmental and large projects, so that an artificial bottleneck will not be created in the labor market, which could force wages to rise and, consequently, affect the cost of the projects and affect the program of their implementation.

PRICES FOR CONSUMER GOODS, FOOD JUMP SHARPLY

Beirut AL-NAHAR in Arabic 16 Apr 84 p 9

[Article by Bahij Abu Ghanim: "A Large Increase in the Prices of Foodstuffs, Vegetables, and Medicines. Increasing Fall-Off in Purchasing Power of Those Earning Limited Salaries and Wages"]

[Excerpts] The start of the year has brought the seeds of a noticeable increase in the cost of living. In the first month, the effect of the fall in the exchange rate of the pound during 1983 was expected to manifest itself via an increase in the prices of imported goods, which are very common in Lebanese society.

The increase in the exchange rate of the dollar was not enough to exhaust the consumer's basket. Since the start of February, the deterioration in the security situation has caused a new jump in prices. Ordinary consumers in general and those with moderate to limited income in particular has begun to groan under the burden of the price increases. This was evident at the end of the first quarter, when the additional burdens on the income level increased. This weakened anew the purchasing power of salaries and wages.

Given the absence of statistics, it is impossible to document the indicators connected with the rising cost of living. Therefore, it is difficult to estimate the rate of inflation during this quarter. However, it is possible to deduce some facts and guess at some of the major features of the standard of living.

Foodstuffs

There is no doubt that foodstuffs are the area of spending with a direct effect on the level of high costs, based on the labor index, which in turn relies on statistical samples taken by the Ministry of Planning (the Central Statistics Office) since 1966. According to this index, spending on foodstuffs accounts for 42.80 percent. Therefore, this area has a great influence on the cost of living in general.

According to the weekly list issued by the Department of Consumer Protection in the Ministry of Economics and Trade, prices of foodstuffs and basic consumer goods recorded a large increase. There are causes and justifications for this.

The list contains a total of 41 commodities. It is clear that the prices of 25 of these (61 percent) rose by different amounts. The prices of 6 commodities (14 percent) fell, while the prices of 10 items (25 percent) were stable.

Reasons

The reasons for the increase in the prices of foodstuffs are manifold. Most of them are due to the political and security situation in the country. It is possible to enumerate these reasons in order of importance, as follows:

1. The exchange rates of foreign currencies have risen against the pound. This holds true especially for the dollar, which rose 44 percent at the end of 1983 and 6 percent at the end of February. This increased affected the prices of imported goods, which also rose and then failed to decline during the months of February and March, when the exchange rates were relatively stable, since the airport and harbor were closed at the time.
2. Since the month of February, the markets have been divided, since contact between them was cut off. This has allowed seasonal monopolies to arise, as well as some permanent ones.
3. Transportation and movement between the various regions and within the capital have become difficult as a result of the closing of the crossings and the resultant waste of time and increase in the cost of transportation.
4. Protection money and additional fees are once again being charged, due to the decline in the authority of the state and the increase in the influence of the armed factions. In addition, activity has returned to the ports that are not totally under the control of the legitimate authorities.
5. The port of Beirut has been closed, and goods are being transferred to neighboring harbors. They are then shipped to nearby harbors, and from there to illegal harbors.
6. The demand for foodstuffs collapsed in February after the events occurred. Thus, prices rose.
7. Following the decline and collapse in demand, the movement of sales was frozen. Demand fell because of the economic crisis and the decline in incomes. Merchants were forced to make up for the lost profits by raising prices.
8. Due to seasonal factors, the prices of some goods in the countries of origin rose.
9. The official monitoring agencies failed to do anything effective and useful because of the declining authority of the state, the weakening of respect for it, and the establishment of new monopolies protected by illegal forces.

Fruit and Vegetables

It has been noted that the prices of fruit and vegetables did not record large increases during the first quarter of the year, although the pertinent list does show increases for a considerable number of varieties.

Reference must be made here to the fluctuation of these prices during the first 3 months, due to seasonal and security factors. Moreover, reference must be made to the fact that the closing of the crossings and the security situation contributed in one way or another to stability in fruit and vegetable prices, since it was difficult for some producing regions to market their produce.

Clothing

Just as food prices were witnessing a large increase, the prices of clothing and dry goods experienced noticeable stability, accompanied by a decline in the prices of some items.

In reality, the price stability of these items was due mainly to the state of economic stagnation, the first signs of which appeared at the beginning of 1983. These signs began to increase gradually as partial explosions occurred, and they came to a head in the first quarter of this year as a result of the disturbance of the security situation. There is no doubt that the continuing economic deterioration, along with declining incomes, made clothing into a luxury to a certain extent, since a change in consumption patterns occurred. With respect to some sectors with limited incomes, this reached the point of austerity.

Other Expenditures

In the field of other expenditures, one must stop and consider some kinds of spending that witnessed a noticeable change:

1. Medicines. The prices of medicines rose by very high margins ranging from at least 20 percent to 100 percent. This sector, which is considered an example of monopolization and chronic chaos, was free of price controls during this period, given the lack of monitoring and the total weakness in the structure of the Ministry of Health.

The increase in the exchange rates of foreign currencies was the primary factor behind the increase in medicine prices, but the importers exploited this factor as much as possible.

However, this increase in medicine prices is partially offset by the subventions provided by the insurance fund to its members. The fund has noted that medicines have come to account for about 60 percent of the cost of health subventions.

2. A noticeable increase has also occurred in transportation and travel costs as a result of the closing of the crossings, since both citizens and drivers have been forced to take longer routes. In addition, the dangers faced by the

available means of transportation have increased. Moreover, the security situation has caused new surcharges to be added to gasoline prices.

Housing and Displacement

Although no scientific rent index is available because of the imbalance in the elements of supply and demand, the "seasons" of displacements have come to overshadow the subject of renting. Furnished apartments and hotels have come to dominate the situation. Their prices have risen to record levels. This has forced the Ministry of Tourism and some popular bodies to intervene by imposing 40 percent deductions for true refugees. However, we doubt the practical value of this solution in light of the conditions for benefitting from these payments. Moreover, the original prices on the basis of which the 40 percent is calculated are not fixed.

One of the additional burdens suffered by the refugees is that they are forced to leave their homes and flee to expensive apartments much smaller than their residences. This compulsory shift from well-ordered homes to apartments has had an effect on consumption patterns, especially with respect to food. This has caused family budgets to be burdened in an unexpected fashion.

In addition to displacement, one must take into account the damage done to homes and furniture, as well as what has been called the individual's understructure. This understructure has come to require renewal or at least repair work, at a time when incomes are falling and the costs of such refurbishing are rising.

It seems likely that this price inflation will continue in the near future, given the political, security and economic situation. Thus, we can deduce the following two factors:

1. The purchasing power of salaries is weakening sharply. In 1982, the rate of inflation was estimated to be about 10 percent. The increase in wages did not keep pace with it because the events took the state, the institutions, and the workers by surprise. Wage increases were limited to a few institutions at the beginning of this year, while the salaries of the great majority of workers and employees stayed the same.
2. The problem is not limited to the increase in the cost of living. Rather, it is accompanied by a great deterioration in incomes resulting from both visible and invisible unemployment, as well as deductions in salaries as a result of the halting of production in a number of institutions and utilities.

Although a fall in income creates a new balance with the pattern of spending, it becomes impossible to strike such a balance when income is absent entirely, or when it falls by 50 percent, as is happening currently.

These approximate factors outline the features of the current social crisis, as well as the dangers it might produce if it continues and worsens.

12224

CSO: 4404/440

QUESTED MINISTER DISCUSSES CREATIVE PROCESS, POETRY

London AL-MAJALLAH in Arabic No 216, 31 Mar-6 Apr 84 pp 58-59

[Interview with Ghazi al-Qusaybi, minister of industry and electricity by Khalid Muhammad Betarfi: "Ghazi al-Qusaybi, Minister, Man with Ph.D., Poet, Stripped of His Titles in Candid Interview: 'The Only Thing That Makes a Poet Stand out among Other People Is His Ability To Express His Feelings' "]

[Text] Those who know Ghazi al-Qusaybi--those who know him without his titles--say that he "soars" in a world all his own and that the wings that let him fly are very transparent. Those who know him as a man wrapped in his cloak, whose name is preceded by the titles, "Dr" and "minister" affirmed that when necessary, he turns into a falcon defending the rights of a person who was unfairly treated or filling the needs of a needy person. They say that in him the transparent quality of poets is mixed with the firmness of the powerful and the faith of the devout. In this interview al-Qusaybi focuses on divesting poets of their distinguishing qualities and peculiarities. One may disagree with him about that, but one will have to agree that those who surrounded poets with an aura of sanctity and curiosity did overdo it. Thus, the pictures they painted of poets made them look more like magicians and fortunetellers.

[Question] It is said that sorrow is the bread of poets. How much sorrow do you have?

[Answer] I don't know who it was that said that sorrow was the bread of poets. Most certainly the person who made that statement is neither a baker nor a poet. Bakers realize that the bread poets eat is in no way different from the bread the rest of their customers eat. Bread for poets is neither kneaded with tears nor baked over the fires of longing. Poets are also aware of this fact. I have never heard of a poet who had a sandwich of sorrow for breakfast or who lunched on a dish of depression. I eat the same bread that my wife purchases for the family, and I wish that it had fewer calories.

I'd like to say, sir, that poets have no monopoly over any of the usual human feelings: neither sorrow, happiness, gloating, jealousy, the propensity to multiply or the love of money. Those who say otherwise are people who are talking nonsense about matters they know nothing about.

One fact remains after these illusions. That fact is that a poet, unlike a non-poet, can express his sorrow in that magical, curious and captivating manner we

call poetry. This does not mean that a poet's sorrow is greater or more awesome than that of a real estate broker, a shoe repairman or a road engineer. All I am saying is that those people cannot express their sorrow in poetry.

For me the matter is not different. I do not feel more sorrow than other people do. But I am able sometimes to express my sorrow in the manner that people have agreed to consider poetry. This does not make my sorrow "first rate" and that of others "second rate." Sorrow is a great human heritage that we all share: poets, people who speak, mute people as well as people who are incapable of expressing themselves in any way.

I Am not an Enigma

[Question] Can you define your voice, your sorrow and your true human nature?

[Answer] Most certainly, and I can do so quite easily. My voice is that sound which is produced by air passing through the vocal chords in my throat to my tongue. Is not this a general, exclusive definition, as logicians say?

My sorrow consists of the total feelings that rage in my heart and that can be distinguished from feelings of happiness. This definition is less precise, but it does the job. What is my true human nature? You are trying to make me an enigma, a puzzle or a mystery. My true human nature is not much different from that of any other human being. There lies in the heart the same mixture of evil tendencies and motivation to do good; there is the same struggle between instinct and higher principles; and there are all the aspects of human weakness and human strength in their everlasting struggle, their ebb and flow, their victory and their decline. This is my true human nature, and it is not different from yours or from the reader's who is reading these lines at this instant. It is also not different from the human nature of that person who uses this paper without reading it as packaging for his purchases.

[Question] Why does a creative person torture himself? Does he have to do that to be creative?

[Answer] This is another myth about creative people. May God make it easy for them to accept what I have to say. I have not heard of a single creative person who starts out the day by whipping himself, hurling himself out of a third floor window or standing in front of a speeding car.

In my opinion, a creative person as you say--and not every poet is a creative person, nor are all creative people poets--does not differ from the human being who is described in the economic theory. He is a person who strives to increase and maximize his profits, his happiness and his pleasures and to minimize his losses, his pains and his hardships. Any creative person who differs from that is a masochist who must seek therapy in a mental institution.

It is true that creative people try to surround themselves with this aura that depicts them as people who are suffering on earth. They do this to attract the sympathy and admiration of readers and to affirm the image of a poet as an extraordinary person who differs from the rest of God's creatures. However, we must not take this claim seriously. Otherwise, we will have to take what merchants say about their losses seriously too.

It is true that among people who are creative there are those who are afflicted with more than one calamity. But this is the will of God who also rules over the least creative people. I have not yet heard of any relationship between the extent of the suffering that a person is subjected to and that person's creativity. I say this with my apologies to those who are creative and are suffering and to those who are creative and are not.

If I Were a Ruler!

[Question] What would you do if you were appointed an Arab ruler? Will you persist in your rejection, and will you persist in your mourning?

[Answer] If I were appointed a ruler in one of my nightmares, I will make the following decisions:

1. I will forbid any discussion about old poetry, modern poetry, authenticity, contemporaneity, ambiguity and myths so as to safeguard the sanctity of the dead, since these subjects died before you and I were born. They died and have been buried, but they are still being disinterred and brought up for discussion.
2. I would remove 95 percent of the collections of poetry in libraries, and I would put their authors on trial and charge them with spoiling public taste.
3. I would offer a reward for poetic creativity to every poet who refrains from writing poetry for at least 25 years.
4. I would decree a week of intellectual rest during which the publication, reading or broadcasting of poetry would be absolutely prohibited.
5. I would resign after adding to the constitution an article forbidding any official holding a government job from publishing a literary work.

[Question] Who is the first person to whom you read your poems, and to what extent are you influenced by that person's evaluation?

[Answer] I do not have a poetry consultant who has the dubious honor of being the first person to hear my poems. In fact I can say that the vast majority of my poems are heard and read by no one until after they are published. On those infrequent occasions when I do find a friend with an ear for poetry after having completed a poem, I might read that poem to him. But I am hardly ever influenced by any evaluations that might be made.

Poetry is the product of a complex psychological process. It is not a piece of dictation that can be edited. No one irritates me more than that person who asks me to read to him my latest poem as though I were some kind of a listeners' request program. I read my poetry only to those people who do in fact appreciate poetry. Such people, quite naturally, are a very small minority. The vast majority of my friends do not like poetry, thank God.

[Question] Have you finally found someone who understands you?

[Answer] I don't know what you mean by finally. I've never complained privately

or publicly about not being understood. Why wouldn't people understand me? Do I speak in Syriac? Do I speak in the language of Babylon? Do I speak in the manner that some modern poets use in their speech? I have been able to interact with others all my life. People understand me, and I understand them; they know about me, and I know about them. I hope you will not try to add another "characteristic"--that of unintelligibility--to the characteristics of poets who are not different from others in this regard. Most poets I know are like open books: neither little nor much intelligence or acumen is required to understand them.

[Question] Poets lose some of their creative powers if they marry and outlive the age of passion. What have you found after you got married, had children and passed the age of 40?

[Answer] This is a broad, unfounded allegation that is being promoted by adolescents and bachelors. I find nothing to indicate that the passage of time, marriage or having children has a negative effect on literary output. Those poets who excelled in the twilight of their lives are too numerous to mention. If it were not for the fact that I am afraid of irritating our "senior" Arab poets who conceal their true age, I would recite here a long list of names. It is true that some artists were brilliant early in their careers and then faded, but these are individual cases that can be countered by other individual cases of artists who became brilliant only in the autumn of their lives. The literary community in the United States is talking these days about a novelist who published her first novel when she was in her seventies, and she was in a nursing home! She had spent more than 25 years writing that novel. At any rate this does not mean that the emotions of a 40-year old man are the same as those of a 20-year old. The experiences one has are supposed to add another dimension that differs from the old dimension. But as far as I personally am concerned, I cannot pass judgment on my work although I did not notice any decline in output following my marriage, after I had children or after I reached the age of 40.

If You Had the Choice!

[Question] If you were given the choice to be born as something else, what would you choose to be born as?

[Answer] Maybe you expect me to say that I wish I were a golden-feathered falcon, a grey African parrot, a canary or a shark. Perhaps you expect me to say that I wish I were 'Umar ibn Abu Rabi'ah, al-Asma'i or the principal [poet], Avicenna. Maybe you expected me to say that I wish I were as graceful as Travolta, as handsome as Elvis Presley or as charming as the old man in "My Lady" or the one-eyed character in "AL-Yamamah." No, my dear man. If I had to choose, I would prefer to start all over again as I am. I would choose to be born with the same name under the same conditions. This may be due to fear of the unknown or to the familiarity that makes a person get used to everything. However, I do prefer to consider my choice in terms of singing the praises of God's blessings. My present life, thank God, is full, happy and exciting.

[Question] In what skies do you fly, and in what world do you live? To whom do you belong after midnight?

[Answer] I fly only when I am in an airplane, if one can consider that flying!

When I fly, I fly in the earth's atmosphere and mostly in Saudi air space. My world is the planet Earth--there is no other--and I go to the office and back home. After midnight I am usually fast asleep. I don't know why you are asking me these questions. Don't you know that I am a government employee who has to wake up early in the morning to put in long hours of work? Don't you know that I have enough work and anxiety to keep my busy and to keep my feet on the ground that I am able to do without such daydreaming? Don't you know that I can only stay up at night at the expense of work, and that this would contradict my view of a public position and [the ethics] of public responsibility? I regret that my answer is as colorless as it is. I would have liked to make it more romantic.

But who knows? After I retire I may be able to indulge in daydreams and rosy wishes; I may be able to live in a world of sea shells and flowers, surrendering myself after the midnight hour to desirable houris! You can then ask me that question once again.

[Question] What is the poem that you wrote and liked but was afraid to publish?

[Answer] I would have preferred it if you had used a more diplomatic word than "afraid." For example, you could have said, "hesitated," "refrained from," or "changed your mind." But you did not. You thus made me feel like our old poet who said, "Leave me alone, I am just like everybody else: I eat my bread with cheese!" There have been many poems that I have been afraid to publish, but I notice that their number declines as the days go by. When I was 20 years old, most of my poetry could not be published. But now it is rare that I write a poem that is not published. This means that the spirit of rebellious youth has given in to the docility of old age. It may mean that experiences have differed; and it may mean nothing at all.

[Question] Every creative person is touched by something that stimulates his creative energies. Where and how does that come from?

[Answer] No. Usually those who are touched by something can only be found among the insane characters who are conceived by creative people, such as the character who was obsessed with Layla, the one obsessed with Elsa and the one obsessed with Umm Kulthum. A poet is unconsciously absorbing experiences all the time, day and night. A poet absorbs these experiences as a sponge absorbs drops of fuel until it becomes saturated and ready to ignite. [When a poet reaches such a saturation point], anything then can stimulate the creative process. It can be an occasional glance, a verse in a song, a faded colored picture, a poem that we read or hear, a telephone conversation or a letter. And there may not be anything in particular. There may not even be any stimulus. [As with a fuel-saturated sponge], sometimes, the pressure of oxygen grows, and combustion ensues immediately: the intervention of an outside factor becomes unnecessary.

Yes, I Fear Death

[Question] Do you fear death?

[Answer] According to a person of old, a man who lived life, "I see each one of us seeking life for himself, careful of that life and captivated by youth." Show me a man who does not fear death, and I will show you a liar or a sick man. Most

certainly I fear death. I live in its shadow and I tremble. I see what it does to the living and to friends, and I tremble. However, I do fear the particulars of death. Will it be painful? Will it come after a long and fatal disease? What will its effect be on my loved ones? These are the details that terrify me. But death in the larger sense is the great truth in a world full of illusions. In death we move to the mercy of God, and my confidence in His mercy is unlimited. When my hour comes, you will find me prepared for death with few good deeds, many sins, much hope in God's forgiveness and great expectation to see His noble countenance.

[Question] How do you write? with your emotions, your reason or with what?

[Answer] I'd like to say first that I write only with a black pen that is made in Germany and has a long, classical tip. I hope you will not ask me for a pen like it because my friends and colleagues have already seized the entire bunch. After this piece of information that is neither here nor there--except perhaps that it might benefit the company that manufactures the pens--I will say that I am the poem's servant and not its master. It is the poem itself that determines whether I will use my head or my heart or what mixture of the two. I envy those who control the process of writing poetry; with me the poetry writing process is in control. It is the process itself that determines the rhythm, rime, form and the words of a poem. I am influenced by the moment and become a malleable tool that has no control over the situation. You can ask the masters of poetry this question, but I am one of poetry's servants. This is the only characteristic I have of a servant.

[Question] Every sharp person has a dream. What is the color of your dream, and what is its identity?

[Answer] If we concede that I am a sharp person, and sharpness--as God only knows--is an attribute of swords and not of poets, then I cannot talk about one dream in particular with a specific identity. Scores of small dreams are born and die every day. They are like small butterflies and small flowers. Every day I laugh with the onset of 1,000 dreams and I weep on the shattered ruins of 1,000 dreams. I have thousands of dreams. There is a personal dream that I do not even reveal to myself. I have dreams for my loved ones and dreams that embrace the universe. There are dreams that have to do with work. And there is that ever-recurring dream to see myself as a better person living in a better world.

[Question] Is there something else you would like to add?

[Answer] Most certainly. I would like to congratulate you for your success in persuading me to do this literary interview, which is the first one I did in several years. My opinion of literary interviews with poets is like my opinion of commercial advertisements. They are a waste of time. You've tried your best to portray a poet as an extraordinary person who is different from ordinary human beings. And I've tried my best to indicate that a poet is an ordinary human being who does not differ from others except in his ability to write poetry. Did I succeed, or did you? The readers will decide, if they read this cumbersome interview.

VARIOUS ACHIEVEMENTS OF RAILWAY ORGANIZATION CITED, REVIEWED

Damascus AL-FURSAN in Arabic No 188, Nov 83 pp 132-141

[Article: "The Achievements of the General Railway Organization in Aleppo"]

[Text] AL-FURSAN magazine met with Eng Muhammad Ghassan al-Qaddur, the director general of the General Railway Organization in Aleppo, and a frank discussion took place, revolving about the organization's most important achievements in the framework of the revolution and the corrective movement and actual conditions in the organization through its dealings and contact with citizens and officials in all areas.

Question One: Mr Ghassan, could we become acquainted, through you, with the condition of the organization, with all its negative and positive features?

Question Two: What are the repercussions of developments in the organization on citizens? To what extent are they content with the organization's services, in your opinion? Are there future aspirations you would like to serve them with?

Question Three: What are the new projects, and those that are supposed to be carried out, in the railway field, in regard to the laying of new systems or the re-laying of old ones?

Question Four: Could we have a glimpse at the railway tie factory in Aleppo and the extent to which the tasks assigned to it have been carried out?

Question Five: Does the organization intend to import new railway cars or locomotives? To what extent might we say that what the company has is sufficient for shipment [and transportation] purposes? Question Six: To what extent do the competition on land (buses and trucks) and the opening of new overland routes affect the organization's revenues?

Question Seven: A Final word: what would you like to assert to officials through the pages of AL-FURSAN magazine?

Question One: Mr Ghassan, could we become acquainted, through you, with the condition of the organization, with all its negative and positive features?

Answer One: The answer to this question of necessity requires that we present the citizen in this country with the following facts:

1. The tremendous development which the railway system has experienced on all levels in the context of the glorious 8 March revolution, especially after the corrective movement which our fighting comrade Hafiz al-Asad led.
2. The important role of railways in development activities.

The railways play an important role in development activities and progress in the technical, economic and social contexts.

In the technical context, one can consider the railway projects in the construction and operation stages in effect a distinctive professional school, because the process of building a railway line and putting it into use brings together actual practices from all professions and areas of specialization.

In the economic field, the railways are considered an important, effective element in the processes of economic development in the country and the attainment of the greatest rates of growth, since it is the effective instrument of transportation for all sectors, especially the industrial, agricultural and commercial ones, in terms of low prices and security for the materials transported, whatever their size. This advantage is not available in any other means of transport.

In the social field, the construction of an integrated railway system which is close to completion links up all the country's villages and towns on the one hand and provides work for thousands of citizens in the construction and operating stages and helps implant the foundations of national unity among the members of the society. In addition to that, the introduction of the railway into vast areas of the country will undoubtedly help establish communities on both sides of it, thereby contributing to the optimum distribution of the population in various areas, instead of its accumulation in specific areas while extensive areas remain devoid of inhabitants.

Finally, I must say that harmony and interaction between the General Railway Organization and the other construction projects in the country are truly to be considered a quantum leap which the Syrian Arab Republic is realizing on all levels.

Through this important role which the railway plays, we find that the party and the revolution, especially after the corrective revolution which our comrade the fighting man Hafiz al-Asad led, has given maximum importance to the process of developing the railways and has provided it with all the ingredients for success in realizing its goals.

Proof of that is the fighting commander Hafiz al-Asad's concern personally to dedicate the Hums-Damascus railway line on 14 March 1983; the workers in the railway organization and the railway construction company consider this a great badge of honor which the leader of the cavalcade has bestowed on them.

After this introduction, I must make a comparison between the condition the railway system was in before the revolution and the condition it attained after the revolution, especially after the corrective movement.

A. With respect to the length of the system:

1. Before the 8 March revolution:

The railway system consisted of the following sections:

The Maydan Akis-Aleppo-al-Ra'i section, 166.528 kilometers long.

The al-Qamishli-al-Ya'rabiya section, 81.076 kilometers long.

The Aleppo-Hamah-Hums-al-Qusayr section, 242.241 kilometers long.

The Hums-al-'Akkari section, 67.049 kilometers long.

The length of the system before the revolution was 556.894 kilometers.

One should point out that the axle weight of these lines was 17 tons and the maximum speed on them was 60 kilometers per hour, and that steam locomotives served them.

2. From 1963 to the corrective revolution of 1970:

The following lines were laid:

The al-Wudayhi-Aleppo-al-Thawrah line, 160.853 kilometers long.

The Tartus-'Akkari line, 42.022 kilometers long.

3. Following the blessed corrective revolution:

The completion of the Latakia-Aleppo-al-Qamishli line, 580.427 kilometers long.

The renovation of the Hums-'Akkari line, 67.292 kilometers long.

The Hums-Damascus line, with the excavation of two spurs to the mines, 194.148 kilometers long.

The Muhayyin-Phosphate line, 120.148 kilometers long.

The Hamah-Mahradah line, 18.148 kilometers long.

The renovation of the Hums-Hamah line, 41.047 kilometers long.

Thus, the length of the system constructed in the context of the corrective movement is 1,022.032 kilometers.

One should bear in mind that the axle weight of the line rose to 20 tons and the maximum speed on it to 100 kilometers per hour, and it is served by 2,800-horsepower diesel locomotives.

B. In the area of moving and movable equipment:

1. Before the 8 March revolution:

As regards locomotives, passenger cars and freight cars:

Forty old steam locomotives continued to work up to 1974, when they were consolidated.

Ten old passenger cars.

Eleven movable cars (autometrice).

Two hundred freight cars; these did not meet the various transport requirements.

2. After the 8 March revolution, in particular after the corrective movement:

A. With respect to locomotives:

Thirty 1,800-horsepower American locomotives.

Ten 650-horsepower French locomotives.

Twenty-five 1,500-horsepower Czech locomotives.

Six Unilock shunting locomotives.

Twelve 1,200-horsepower Russian locomotives.

One hundred ten 2,800-horsepower Russian locomotives, of which 54 have reached the country; the remainder will arrive soon.

B. With respect to passenger cars:

Twenty-five German passenger cars, which arrived in 1970.

Forty-nine Rumanian cars, which arrived in 1977.

Sixty-two Polish cars, which arrived in 1980.

Two hundred high-class German cars, which arrived in 1983.

Forty-five German sleeping cars, which are on their way to the country.

Twenty German dining cars, which are on their way to the country.

Thirteen German baggage and service cars, which are on their way to the country.

C. With respect to freight cars:

Four hundred diverse freight cars responding to needs for transporting various kinds and specifications of goods.

In the realm of the number of people working in the organization:

1. Before the 8 March revolution:

The number of workers of various specializations did not exceed 1,300 before the revolution.

2. After the 8 March revolution, and particularly after the corrective movement and the expansion of the system:

The number of workers up to the end of 1983 will come to more than 7,000; this figure will rise to more than 10,000 by the end of 1985.

In the field of technical experts:

The organization has suffered, and still is suffering, from the great deficit in technical experts in view of the diversity and precision of work. It needs diverse high-level technical experts although the relatively low salaries do not constitute a factor for attracting such experts.

However, the determination to work reduces difficulties and provides solutions, and we have found a solution to this problem by establishing the vocational training center to train young people in all the areas of specialization the organization needs. Work on the center has actually started and it will receive the first group for training at the end of this year or the start of the next one.

We have been concerned to have it an exemplary center in terms of availability of laboratories, trainers, reading rooms, workshops, playgrounds and houses for lodging students from outside the city of Aleppo. We have learned from the experience of the intermediate railway engineering institute, as we have found that all or the overwhelming majority of the students there are from the Governorate of Aleppo while the students from the remaining governorates avoid entering this institute because housing is not available. The organization may need technical staffs from all governorates to work in their own governorates after completing the training period, and we have stressed the provision of houses to lodge students in this center.

In accordance with the new administrative organization, we have created a department in the organization known as the accreditation and training department.

In the area of project spending:

The money spent on railway projects between independence and the 8 March revolution came to 8,926,646 Syrian pounds.

The money spent on railway projects between the 8 March revolution and the corrective movement of 1970 came to 320,836,252 Syrian pounds.

The money spent on railway projects between the corrective movement and the end of the seventh month of 1983 came to 2,717,615,514 Syrian pounds.

In the realm of maintenance:

Maintenance was manual and depended on primitive equipment; now, however, mechanical maintenance has been introduced, since a number of very advanced machines have been imported. Thus we will have entered a new stage in the process of maintaining the routes that have been spread out over extensive areas of the country.

Through this brief review of the great development in the railway system and the ambitious work plan to contribute actively to the country's economic and social development activities, it is clear that the volume of work that is required is great, very great, especially since the organization's activities are diverse and are plainly different from all the activities of the country's organizations and the public sector organizations. It is in direct contact with all citizens as far as the activities of transporting cargoes and passengers go. As a result of the nature of this sort of great work, the extensive deployment of the system and the direct contact with the masses, there must be some negative features, although we are working seriously to put an end to these negative features, and they will certainly end.

The positive aspects are numerous -- the establishment of new lines, the renovation of old lines, the provision of moving and movable equipment, the provision of advanced equipment, the accreditation of technical staffs, and so forth.

All these activities are aimed at raising the work level and attaining higher levels in the activities of transporting goods and passengers.

The following table will show our ambitions in raising the transportation rate in 1984.

1. Freight transportation in 1983 was 2,831,854 tons; the 1984 plan is 4,361,472 tons.
2. Passenger transportation was 501,160 passengers; [the plan is] 1,827,960 passengers.

Let me say a final word in this area: through the support the organization has received from the party and the authorities, in particular from our fighting comrade Hafiz al-Asad, and great attention from the minister of transportation, we are very optimistic about the future and determined that

this system will be on an equal footing with the railway systems of the developed countries.

Question Two: What are the repercussions of developments in the organization on citizens? To what extent are they content with the organization's services, in your opinion? Are there future aspirations you would like to serve them with?

Answer Two: The comfort and contentment of the citizen is our goal.

Therefore we are always striving to realize the citizen's comfort and are devoting all power and every resource to serving him and bestowing a pleasurable trip on him.

In order to reach this goal we have adopted the following measures:

1. One hundred passenger cars have been imported; these are tourist class cars but are of good quality.
2. One hundred first class passenger cars have been imported.
3. Forty-five first class sleeping cars have been purchased and will soon reach the country.
4. Twenty first class dining cars have been bought and will soon reach the country.
5. Thirteen baggage and service cars have been bought, so that passengers' baggage can be put in them and they can be given a pleasurable journey and will not be disturbed by the presence of baggage scattered about in passenger cars.
6. We have doubled the number of daily trains between Aleppo and Latakia to provide an opportunity for citizens to enjoy the beauty of the sea.
7. We have put two direct trains from al-Qamishli to Latakia and vice versa into service so that inhabitants in the Eastern areas may have an opportunity to enjoy the beauty of the sea.
8. We have allocated a steward to each first class car and a steward to every two tourist-class cars as well; their task is to guarantee the citizens' comfort and provide all their requirements during the trip.
9. A number of citizens have complained of mistreatment by buffet workers and the poor quality and high price of the food and drink offered them during the trip. One should bear in mind that the buffets are now run by concessionaires, but these complaints are in the process of being eliminated, since we are now making a study on establishing a company which will be in charge of operating mobile and fixed buffets belonging to the organization, in order to offer citizens food and drink of the highest quality and the lowest prices. This study will be completed at the end of this year and might go into effect in 1984.

From this, it is clear that we have been sparing no effort to arrive at the best solutions to serve citizens, so that they may enjoy pleasurable trips on our modern trains, through captivating natural surroundings.

Question Three: What are the new projects, and those that are supposed to be carried out, in the railway field, in regard to the laying of new systems or the re-laying of old ones?

Answer Three: The question covers two subjects:

The first concerns the renovation of old systems.

The second concerns the laying of new ones.

The first subject:

All the main important railway systems are new lines which have been put in operation except the Hums-Hamah-Aleppo line; in view of the importance of this line, especially following the completion of the Hums-Damascus line, a start was actually made on renovating it. So far the Hums-Hamah line has been renovated and added to for a short distance; work is going on in good fashion in the direction of Aleppo and might be completed and ready for use in 1984.

The second subject, which is the laying of new lines:

One can review this as follows:

First, the Tartus-al-Ladhiqiyah line, about 80 kilometers in length:

A contract was signed by the Soviet Union on 24 November 1981 by virtue of which the Soviet party will send experts for reconnaissance and preliminary survey work on this project, along with some necessary materials and equipment for this work, in accordance with the economic and technical agreement concluded by the two countries. Recently contracts were made to carry out the study and prepare the construction plans; the Soviet experts have come to the country, and actual work on the construction of this line has begun.

The total cost of this project is estimated at about 140,805,412 Syrian pounds.

Second, the Dayr-al-Zawr-al-Bu Kamal line, about 145 kilometers in length.

A contract was signed with the Soviet Union on 24 November 1981, by virtue of which the Soviet party will send experts for reconnaissance and preliminary survey work relative to this project, along with some equipment and materials necessary for this project, in accordance with the technical and economic cooperation agreement between the two countries. Actual preparations for starting on this project have started.

Total cost of the project is estimated at about 256,332,867 Syrian pounds.

Third, the Damascus-Dar'a railway, about 130 kilometers in length:

During the discussion of the 1982 plan in the higher planning commission, agreement was given to the construction of this line, at a cost of 22 million Syrian pounds, by the Syrian General Railway Organization, and the necessary investments to carry out the construction study, totalling 8.8 million Syrian pounds, have been transferred from the general organization's plan for the Hijaz line to the Syrian General Railway Organization plan.

Question Four: Could we have a glimpse at the railway tie factory in Aleppo and the extent to which the tasks assigned to it have been carried out?

Answer Four: The concrete products factories are plants that belong to the Railway Construction company. These were established in 1966 and consist of a number of factories:

1. The prefabricated and prestressed railway tie factory.
2. The prefabricated and prestressed circular column factory.
3. The prefabricated concrete annex fabrication and production factory.

First, the tie factory:

The tie factory is operating with two production lines in two shifts. It produces concrete ties of the B43-A50 wood line type.

Output per shift is 400 ties. Total concrete production from the construction of the plant in 1966 to October 1976 was 1,646,155 ties.

It then began producing French model flexible concrete stabilization ties; daily production per shift was 350 ties and total production from October 1976 to July 1983 was 1,182,335 ties.

There now is a study on upgrading the stabilization of the ties to the K-5 type.

Second: the concrete column factory:

This factory is operating with three production lines in two shifts; it started up production in 1967 and produces different types of concrete columns used for electric power transmission, telephones and lighting. This produces the following types:

Eight-meter, 9-meter, 10-meter, 12.7-meter and 13.5-meter columns, with numerous reinforcements, from 16 4-millimeter high-resistance steel wires to 32, 24, 38, and 64 wires, according to the height of the column.

This factory will cover railway construction needs for columns used in lighting stations, telephones and electricity, as well as the needs of the electric organizations in the country, the Euphrates Dam and Oil Organizations, and other organizations.

Third: the concrete annex factory:

In this factory, prefabricated concrete units are produced which are required in the process of laying railways and in some public sector companies in the country.

This factory has been operating with just one shift since 1968.

Question Five: Does the organization intend to import new railway cars or locomotives? To what extent might we say that what the company has is sufficient for shipment and transportation purposes?

Answer Five: We previously stated that our basic goal is defined as the attainment of two things:

First, effective contribution to the processes of economic and social development in the country by raising the level of work and using our moving and movable equipment at maximum capacity.

Second, the welfare and comfort of the citizens, granting them the opportunity to enjoy pleasurable journeys.

In order to realize the desired objectives, the organization at the end of the year determined to make a bold and objective evaluation of last year's work and contemplate negative points at length, so that they could find effective solutions for eliminating them totally.

It is also contemplating the positive points at length, in order to consolidate and sanctify them.

Through this process of evaluation, which is concentrated on the principle of pure science, the organization's requirements in the coming year are being evaluated as regards all the requirements for success and the prosecution of work in order to attain the basic goal of its existence, effective contribution to the development processes of the country and the citizen's happiness and welfare.

If it has not attained perfection, we are determined that it will.

We have a statement to make in this regard, which is to ask all citizens to participate with us to reach these goals, take into consideration that they exist only for their comfort and pleasure and preserve the elegance, cleanliness and safety of these cars, because that is a sign of civilization and the responsibility of all of us.

Question Six: To what extent do the competition on land (buses and trucks) and the opening of new overland routes affect the organization's revenues?

Answer Six: Speaking frankly, we are not afraid of this competition, because the advantages which are to be found exclusively in the railways are not present in other means of transport.

Railway transport is distinguished by the following things:

1. The transportation of large amounts of goods, which could come to as much as 2,000 tons, in a single train, and all kinds of goods (fuel of all types, grain, construction materials, cotton and cotton products, phosphate, sulphur, fertilizer and various materials), since freight cars have been provided that specialize in all these categories. This is an advantage that is not available to other means of transport.
2. The transportation of large numbers of citizens, perhaps as many as 600 in a single train, in deluxe cars accompanied by a baggage car and a dining car, providing the traveler with everything he requires during the trip in addition to his enjoyment of captivating scenery and prices with which one cannot compete.
3. The safety that exists in the railways is much greater than in other means of transportation. Train accidents are scarcely worth mentioning while accidents in vehicles devoted to the transport of passengers or freight are numerous; a day does not go by that we do not hear of a number of such accidents and a number of victims. The reports of traffic posts can testify to that.

In this regard I must state that the goal of all of us is the comfort and happiness of the citizen. Since the railway system will not reach every village of our perseverant country in the foreseeable future, with the opening of roads and provision of means of transport for every village and farm we will be bestowing comfort and happiness on the citizen in the context of the government of the Ba'th, the government of the toiling people, and the context of the wise leadership of the fighting leader Hafiz al-Asad, who has provided citizens with all requirements of life and welfare in the rural areas, in the form of water and electricity, and roads are of no less importance than them.

Question Seven: A final word: what would you like to convey to the officials through the pages of AL-FURSAN magazine?

Answer Seven: In this regard, I can only give thanks and appreciation to the fighting commander Hafiz al-Asad, the secretary general of the Arab Socialist Ba'th Party and president, who has given the organization everything it needs and has provided it with the wherewithal for success.

In my name and the name of all the workers, we promise him that we will continue to progress, in the framework of his wise leadership, in order to realize our nation's goals of unity, freedom and socialism.

11887
CSO: 4404/435

MASSIVE INDUSTRIAL PROGRESS IN EASTERN GOVERNORATES REVIEWED

Damascus AL-BA'TH in Arabic 14 Mar 84 p 7

[Article by Michel Khayyat: "A Comparative Journey to the East: The Features of a New Birth for Governorates That Had Been Neglected!"]

[Text] I remembered the year 1974. Ten years have elapsed since the first journalistic task assigned to me in the northern and eastern governorates. The great Euphrates Dam amazed me at that time. As I traveled in a small boat to the Citadel of Ja'far I came to understand why a number of colleagues had appealed to every literary person and writer to go there. The great dam had created a great material change which has changed the features of the land, and it remained for man to change and become attuned to these great developments, some of which were embodied in the advanced technology in the electric plant and the methods of farming which were yearning to embrace the most modern achievements of agricultural science on the hard ground of the pilot project. There were the Euphrates Dam and 15 model farms which had entered the stage of first planting, a stage which is necessary following the reclamation of the land. To that we might add the 360-meter Upper al-Salhabiyah Canal, a group of branch irrigation canals and the Kundayran water pumping station hunched on the banks of the Euphrates. In al-Raqqa we could also visit the ruins of al-Rusafah.

In Dayr al-Zawr, outside the salt mine and the cotton gin, we would devote much time to pause to contemplate the phenomenon of the great proliferation of cafes. The most important thing a journalist who visited Dayr al-Zawr would bring up was the presence of a large number of people, young men in particular, in the cafes. Meetings with these people always led to a basic demand whose gist was that job opportunities be made available.

Al-Hasakah was only a rest station, and if we sought out journalistic work there the vast countryside lay before us. Its sufferings at that time were overwhelming, and perhaps the most widely-used statement we brought back from there was:

"Bread and tea, we are living in the neglected Eastern regions, we are the people of a neglected governorate." The life of the people we met could be summarized by first two words, in addition to bitter complaints of the lack of electricity, health services and potable water.

From al-Hasakah we would set out for al-Qamishli, an area rich in farmland and poor in services.

People there had many justifications for feeling persecuted: "We produce one third Syria's wheat yet drink polluted water!"

From al-Qamishli we would set out for the oil fields at al-Rumaylan, in order to reflect at close hand over our exceptional national experience in the context of the domestic exploitation of oil.

Thus journalists at that time did not need more than 6 days to carry out a task such as the one we were assigned recently, that of writing about our new life in the context of the glorious 8 March revolution, 21 years after this revolution took place.

The Facts of 1984

When we recently got to al-Raqqah we sensed, in talking to ordinary people in restaurants, the hotel, and the markets, that very important changes had occurred in al-Raqqah as a town and a governorate.

When we met a number of directors of general companies working in the areas of agricultural production and reclamation, we sensed that we would have to spend a whole month in al-Raqqah in order to grasp the great projects that have been carried out, or still are being carried out.

The 3 days we devoted to al-Raqqah were no longer at all sufficient if we were to be satisfied with our work as journalists. In 1984 we now had to visit the great Euphrates Dam, Lake al-Asad and the pilot project farms and contemplate the repair work on the Upper al-Salhabiyah Canal (which we had seen in 1974); it was now necessary that we visit the new al-Ba'th Dam, the main al-Raqqah pumping station and the first West Maskanah station, from which branch out giant channels that irrigate the new farms of Maskanah. It was not reasonable that we should not go into these farms. Of course we would have to study them carefully, as they are now working more than 17,000 hectares of irrigated farmland.

When we carry out this visit, we have to go to the 51,000-hectare West Maskanah reclamation project and contemplate there the giant plant which is still being built, which will pump 93 cubic meters of water through a canal 71 kilometers along. We have to consider it especially since it is now at Kilometer 30. Perhaps this canal will restore to Aleppo its agricultural glory and will wall it in with a "meadow" that is 10 times greater in area than the meadow of Damascus!

After that, let us return to Maskanah, with the goal of visiting the massive cattle station being built there, then let us go to East Maskanah to learn about the 18,000 hectare project, which is an agricultural area that will be reclaimed there.

Then let us go into the villages and fields which have been reclaimed in the central Euphrates basin, a project whose costs have come to 400 million

pounds; the results of the reclamation there have been brilliant, and the output on the land there has risen in a striking manner, now that irrigation machinery has been dispensed with and water is reaching the land, which has benefitted from soil levelling, in box, semi-canted and hanging channels.

We have not yet started. This is what our companions said. We have yet to visit the al-Balikh Canal, officially known as the inlet to the main lower canal, 18 kilometers long; its importance lies in the fact that it can easily transport water to 100,000 hectares of reclaimed land. Perhaps the advantage of this canal is that it is being constructed domestically (the General Land Reclamation Company is carrying it out). This canal is unique of its kind in the whole world: it is lined with plastic and felt sheets!

From the inlet to the lower main canal one goes to the main lower canal, which is 52 kilometers long; from there to al-Hishm well, the reclaimed land area totals 10,000 hectares. Then one goes to the al-Raqqah poultry installation, which is still being built, and the new sugar plant and the brick factory, which will be inaugurated soon. After that one goes to the modern mill with a production capacity of 250 tons a day, alongside which there are massive grain silos and large bridges. What next?

You have not visited the al-Asad House of Culture in the town of al-Thawrah. That is a splendid framework for social and intellectual development; it is a rich framework which serves a subject of the utmost importance, the creation of a new consciousness which will be in keeping with the new material developments.

The costs of this house have been estimated at 30 million Syrian pounds and when it is totally finished it will offer many services to the population of the town of al-Thawrah and everyone wishing to do scientific research on the floor which was a small village then grew spontaneously. A great change has occurred which perhaps only people who visited it in 1974 can notice. It is true that its streets are full of dirt now, but these streets did not exist before.

The village, packed with more than 60,000 workers, consisted of mounds, trenches, and narrow alleys covered with electric wires which had been laid to homes from the general system in an irregular manner.

The old scenes have vanished, electricity has been brought in in a regular manner and the village, which has now become a town, is outfitted with sewers and water systems.

The drinking water projects erected in al-Raqqah Governorate alone would require a special journalistic tour. Drinking water was brought by means of public reservoirs to 125 villages in the period between 1980 and 1983. Therefore, a 3-day visit was no longer enough at all; the brilliant future of Syria is being built in al-Raqqah.

The accomplishments there have been enlarged upon in a striking manner which opens broad horizons in the framework of future national profit. Perhaps you can notice that great developments have occurred between 1974 and 1984.

However, these developments have derived their identity from the material base which was established in the first 10 years of the revolution. In 1974, electricity was generated from the great Euphrates Dam for the first time, which means that at that time the dam was able to start performing the great role for which it was created.

All the achievements mentioned above have been derived from the dam and Lake al-Asad.

Perhaps in Dayr al-Zawr, the governorate famed as the bride of the desert, we can come upon details similar to those described in al-Raqqah.

A Massive Industrial Base

The bride of the desert today has become a prominent industrial base in the eastern area.

Approaching it from al-Raqqah, we observed much land reclamation equipment, developing massive new acreage which will also benefit from the water of Lake al-Asad and the positive achievements of the Euphrates Dam, and we were given the chance to go into the building of the new radio broadcasting station which was put into operation in 1978. This station operates on a medium frequency with a capacity of 1,500 kilowatts and broadcasts over an area of 6,000 kilometers in the direction of al-Bu Kamal, Iraq, Saudi Arabia and the Gulf countries. Its costs came to 37 million Syrian pounds. Eng Riyadh Tuma, the director of this station, explained to us that a television broadcasting station had also been built in al-Bu Kamal which will now be operating with video equipment until it gets signals from the general program when the great microwave project, the "return line," is built. It has been decided to construct the special part of this line that will make it possible to operate the television broadcasting station at the end of this month; this will be one of the world's massive television broadcasting stations.

When we entered the town of Dayr al-Zawr, our attention was drawn to the massive tourist hotel there, which has neared the stage of completion. This hotel looks out over the Euphrates River. Construction activities on it were stalled for a long time, then it was assigned to the Military Housing Organization about 5 months ago and now is in the stage of completion. This hotel consists of six floors, 70 rooms, three restaurants, a night club and a swimming pool.

This hotel may revive Dayr al-Zawr as far as tourist activity goes. Dayr al-Zawr is a captivating town.

We passed over the bridge, which now is just for pedestrians, in order to take the giant cement bridges to the paper mill for which Dayr al-Zawr is famous today.

A great deal has been written about the paper mill. We do not have the strength in this regard to immerse ourselves in details; suffice it for us to say that we have seen more than 1,000 workers going into this plant and operating its machinery and equipment.

This mill started actual production in June 1983, and was able to launch Syrian Arab expertise. Its workers made sacrifices and in 6 months 18,000 tons of paper and many chemicals which provided the requirements for the oilfields, the Baniyas refinery and the fertilizer plants in Hums, chlorinated water, active calcium and sodium water were produced.

Dr Ahmad Nizam-al-Din, the manager of the paper mill in Dayr al-Zawr, explained to us that we were facing a group of factories which constituted an advanced chemical complex to produce paper and chemicals, and he pointed out that the paper mill's plan this year comprised the production of 40,000 tons of paper.

The cost of this plant came to 670 million Syrian pounds.

In addition, a sugar mill was erected in Dayr al-Zawr with a productive capacity of 400,000 tons of beets. Its costs came to 3 billion Syrian pounds. The cotton gin is no longer the only symbol of industry connected to Dayr al-Zawr's cotton production.

The bride of the desert today is proud of the presence of two big textile mills on its territory. The first mill has 75,000 spinners and accommodates 2,000 workers, and its productive capacity comes to 12,000 tons per year.

The second plant has 38,000 looms and produces 7,500 tons of spun cotton.

In the area of al-Mayadin, belonging to the Governorate of Dayr al-Zawr, a plant was also established for canning vegetables. The paper, textile and concrete column plants and vegetable cannery came into existence toward the end of the seventies and created a great transformation in the economic structure of this governorate.

It is clear that this new industrial base is at the same time a technical and social school which is providing many workers with technical qualifications and organizing their social life in a better fashion.

Alongside this great, remarkable industrial development, the bride of the desert has experienced great development in the realm of services. Perhaps the most prominent feature of this is the construction of a number of water purification plants which meet the requirements of al-Mayadin and extensive parts of the countryside today. These achievements also portray to us the great transformation Dayr al-Zawr went through in the second decade of the revolution, which might be the most important transformation in its life as it is without a doubt preparing for great positive developments in the future.

The Great Dream Enters the Realm of Execution

We approached the town of al-Hasakah when the sun was totally absent. We had observed that many villages on the left of the road were lit up.

We stopped at the village of 'Ajajah, near the public road, and there made the acquaintance of Mr Hasan Shaban in a small shop containing a telephone exchange.

We asked him, "How long ago did electricity come to this village?"

He replied, "About a year ago."

"What has changed?"

"Before electricity, when we got up in the morning our noses were clogged with blackness, 'soot.' The light from lamps is much better than the light from lanterns.

"Today we are experiencing a new life and when the electricity is cut off for a quarter of an hour, we feel extreme annoyance.

"The electricity has made it possible for us to watch television programs, use refrigerators, washing machines and water pumps and operate the mill. Metalworkers' shops which use oxygen welders are spread about through the villages. We are happy with this new life. Before the advent of electricity, I would shut the shop down the moment the sun set. As you see, I am still here. Perhaps this means the continuation of telephone service. By telephone, we can get in touch with the gynecologist and the first aid vehicle. Here we have communicated with Germany, Saudi Arabia and Baniyas. The telephone came into our village in the early part of 1983."

We left 'Ajajah for al-Hasakah, which we reached in the evening. Nonetheless, we observed that it had grown strikingly. In the morning, in the course of quick conversations, we realized that we would need 2 weeks of serious work to become acquainted with the new al-Hasakah.

It has acquired a spinning mill which has 75,000 spinners and accommodates 2,000 workers. Its costs came to 300 million Syrian pounds and it produces 6,000 tons of fine thread a year.

In addition, the gas plant has been built on the territory of al-Hasakah; it produces 13,000 cylinders of gas a day in addition to 50 tons of gasoline, 22 tons of sulphur, 17 tons of solvents and 139 tons of pentane.

In al-Hasakah, another plant is being constructed for unassociated gas. It relies on gas wells, and this new project will supply the fertilizer plants in Hums with their gas requirements as an alternative to naphtha.

A vegetable cannery has also been built in al-Hasakah; its costs came to 35 million Syrian pounds, and it was put into operation in July 1982. The first stage of the saw-operated gin was also constructed and put into operation in 1978 with a productive capacity of 40,000 tons.

A new roof tile plant is expected to be inaugurated next April. The Military Housing Organization will build this new plant and its costs are estimated at 50 million Syrian pounds. It will produce 50,000 tiles a day.

Perhaps the sum total of these new installations in the industrial context is expressive of the great development which this governorate has experienced in the second decade of the revolution. It is development of which we

come upon further symbols in the other sectors. The total capacity of the grain silos in al-Hasakah Governorate now is 260,000 tons, and the new automated mills now total three, with a production capacity of 435 tons of flour a day.

In this context we can talk of the hundreds of villages that have been provided with electricity, the hundreds of schools which have been built and the numerous potable water projects, but we would prefer to leave all this to a place where there would be room for all these details. Rather, in this area, we are anxious to point out that the sum total of the great efforts this governorate has witnessed so far can be put to one side, and that on another side one could put a giant project which recently emerged onto the terrain of reality, is still being established on the land, and is becoming conspicuous with each passing day.

That is the al-Khabur irrigation project.

On the road toward the project, we stopped in numerous villages along the river, which is distinguished for its springs and the quality of its water.

We spoke to the peasants and farmers at length and saw that they were happy that the dream had started to become reality. About 3 kilometers from the al-Khabur springs, in the town of Ra's al-'Ayn, we saw a sign that discussed this project. We followed a branch road, and then came upon dozens of massive machines and many engineers and workers.

We observed the new cement gates which had started to rise above the surface of the ground and observed the workers grading the new bed which is being built now to divert the al-Khabur River to a canal which is the backbone of a project that consists of three dams. It is expected that its costs will come to 8 billion Syrian pounds. There, before a giant operation which has actually started, we said that the great dream has entered the stage of reality.

We will talk to you in detail in a later article about this giant project, which will make it possible to irrigate 150,000 hectares of farmland.

11887

CSO: 4404/435

AFGHANISTAN

SOVIET PANJSHIR OFFENSIVE SPREADING TO REST OF COUNTRY

Paris LE FIGARO in French 28-29 Apr 84 p 2

[Article by Jacques Guilleme Brulon: "Afghanistan-Vietnam: the Difference"]

[Text] The USSR has come back with an upsurge of vigor to its offensive operations on all fronts in Afghanistan. The new tactics involve intensive aerial bombardment on an ever-expanding scale, attacking several targets simultaneously in the pockets of resistance in the hope of breaking its back and wearing down its fighters. American intelligence quarters, too, were startled when Moscow, over recent weeks, deployed some 36 heavy TU-16 Badger bombers and more than 100 light bombers along the Afghan borders. Washington is wondering now if this major deployment might not have been designed -- above and beyond what is perceived as normal in the Soviets' anti-guerrilla campaign -- to intimidate Pakistan, or might be a response to the recent turn in the Iraq-Iran war. With a cruising range of close to 2,000 kilometers, the Badgers are now within striking distance of the Gulf. These same sources note that this is the heaviest concentration of air power the Soviets have built up since they first invaded Afghanistan.

Scorched Earth

To state it more simply, the USSR is striking while the iron is hot -- from Syria to Pakistan -- thus clearly revealing its intention to intervene openly in the Near and Middle East; a decision which the hasty pullout of the American Marines from Beirut unquestionably only encouraged. Strategically speaking, furthermore, the attempt to liquidate the Afghan resistance, the clear-cut threat to Pakistan from the presence of a massive air force on its borders, and the stepped-up military aid flowing from Moscow to Iraq are all closely linked. Everything about this business has to do with the Kremlin's intended response to the reinforcement of the U.S. fleet in the Gulf region, while providing access routes to the warm waters for its troops.

Everything attended to in its proper time. Here, as elsewhere, the Soviets would not dream of crowding their luck in a poker-able bluff. Unlike your traditional imperialists, they are not slaves to time. The conquest of this or that sector of the globe is not immutably attached to the name of any one particular leader. It is, and always has been, a function of the gradual strengthening of the system. The system is never hurried. It patiently moves its pawns across the world's chessboard, never bothering to set any specific deadline for invading and occupying a specific target. Individuals come and go, but the communist machine rolls inexorably on its way, even at the price of temporary reverses, should the health of the system require them.

In the short run, the main job in this part of the world is the methodical destruction of Afghan society, to make room on its ruins for the erection of a standard Marxist-Leninist society. That is why the Red Army is so pitilessly determined to crush the Afghans and to drive millions of them into exile. Moscow has always preferred to rebuild its provinces on scorched earth: first, that of its own ravaged territory, and then on that of the nations over which it intended to rule. Ever since 1917, the mythical and allegedly victorious phoenix of the "proletarian revolution" has sprung from the bodies of the dead and the ashes of murdered cultures.

Since this is the case, it would be the gravest of errors in interpretation to compare the situation prevailing in Afghanistan today with the one the Americans, in other times, went through in Vietnam. Afghanistan is not and never will be the Soviet Union's Vietnam. In Vietnam, as in Korea or in Germany, the Americans and the Europeans were dealing with or facing nations that had been cut in two by deplorable agreements reached between or among "allies," at the conclusion of WW II. It is those ill-conceived partions that spawned the conflicts of the past 30 years or will engender those still to come. The communist State of North Vietnam was opposed to the liberal-democratic State of South Vietnam. The former based its policy on aggression, the latter on defense.

Once South Vietnam and the United States accepted the idea of playing according to the rules of their adversaries in the North and their Soviet and Chinese allies, they irrevocably doomed themselves to defeat, by forgetting, among other things, that the foreign war overlay the civil war, and magnified it. Historically, the defensive strategy has invariably been that of the weak. The only strategy that leads to victory is to take the offensive and to occupy the enemy's territory. That is the strategy that informs Soviet operations in Afghanistan. The Soviet leaders got a "call for help" from their ally Babrak to destroy "the traitors of the counter-revolution." At the dogmatic level, then, it was in the name of "proletarian internationalism" that they intervened. And the Red Army has done such a splendid job that it has

escorted the said Babrak in its lumbering trucks right into Kabul, just as it did in 1956 for Kadar in Budapest.

Long, Smouldering War

The situation is apparently as clear as springwater. No matter if the entire population should perish, it is accepted once and for all that the truth has taken up residence in the government buildings where Mr Babrak cowers behind the shield of Soviet tanks. The lies now emanate from the mountain men who scorn slavery. That done, the Red Army steamroller, day after day, goes about settling the problem, until the enemy is exhausted.

Make no mistake: this smouldering war may go on for years. For the Soviet Union, it is not the extreme effort upon which some visionaries are building themselves a dream-world. Unlike the Americans, who committed 500,000 of their own to Vietnam, the Soviets have -- counting rotation -- committed only 100,000 men in the war in Afghanistan. Unlike the Americans, who lost more of their fighting men in Vietnam than in all of the 1939-1945 war, the Soviets have lost a mere 10,000 killed in Afghanistan. Is that an unacceptable effort for the Soviets? It doesn't amount to a hill of beans to a country which, in case of a generalized war, could mobilize more than 50 million reservists. To be fair, it would be better to say that the Red Army's 10,000 dead (if the figure is accurate) amounts to little more to the Soviet Union than a scratch on a rhinocerus' hide. Furthermore, just as the Spanish Civil War of 1936-1939 was for the Germans, the Italians ... and the Soviets, the Afghan conflict in our own time provides an excellent proving-ground for the Red Army to test its equipment and the level of training of its troops fighting in established units.

Before Our Impassive Eyes

Things would obviously have taken quite another turn had the Americans and the Europeans dispatched massive numbers of "military advisers" with modern weapons to the millions of Afghan refugees in Pakistan. If Pakistan had become the roundhouse of the Afghan resistance and of the free world to Soviet imperialism, there would certainly have been some risk involved. But they would have been carefully calculated risks. Risks that would in the end have lent credence to the accusations from the Kremlin, which took as its pretext for the December 1979 invasion of Afghanistan an alleged pre-emptive American intervention. They were risks which the infinitely prudent USSR would have evaluated at their true weight, before taking another step forward. And yet, as is its wont, the free world confined itself to the usual outcry and verbal condemnation of aggression, with a lot of fine talk and much pointing of fingers at the "wicked" Soviets.

And while all this was going on, the slaughter continued, and continue it will until the Afghans lie down and die, their fighting men all gone, before our impassive eyes. Here, as elsewhere, with the indirect complicity that is born of our moral flabbiness and our arrant cowardice.

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CS0: 4619/47

INDIA

DELEGATE TELLS INDIA'S STAND ON WATERS TALKS

Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 30 Mar 84 p 3

[Text] The Union Minister of State for Irrigation, Mr Ram Niwas Mirdha, said at Calcutta airport on Thursday that the Indian proposal to dig a link canal between the Brahmaputra and the Ganga for augmenting the flow of the Ganga at Farakka was "more feasible and practicable" than the proposal given by Bangladesh. Bangladesh proposed to construct dams and store water in Nepal to augment the flow of the Ganga. Mr Mirdha is leading a nine-member delegation to Dhaka for the India-Bangladesh Joint Rivers Commission meeting.

Mr Mirdha said that the issue would have to be solved without the inclusion or interference of a third country. The proposal of Bangladesh had some other difficulties in addition to including a third country, he added. Asked to comment on the views of Bangladesh that implementation of the Indian proposal would create some socio-economic problems for that country, Mr Mirdha said that India would also have to make a great sacrifice for implementing the proposal, but if the proposal materialized it would benefit both India and Bangladesh.

A large quantum of water of the Brahmaputra remained unused. This could easily be used for augmenting the flow, he said. Asked if any third proposal would be considered in cases neither of the present ones was accepted, Mr Mirdha said that according to the memorandum of understanding signed by Mrs Gandhi and President Ershad, the JRC was entitled to discuss only the two proposals under consideration. The result of the discussion would have to be reported to the Governments. "The JRC did not have any authority to discuss any new proposal," he added.

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INDIA

GANDHI INAUGURATES MUSLIM EDUCATIONAL CONFERENCE

Madras THE HINDU in English 31 Mar 84 p 9

[Text] New Delhi, March 30--The Prime Minister, Mrs Indira Gandhi, said here today that she was constantly in touch with Iran and Iraq and the rest of the non-aligned movement in an attempt to find a way to end the tragic confrontation.

"Within the country or in the non-aligned group let us always remember that we can progress only by standing together, each link contributing to the strength of the chain as a whole," the Prime Minister said inaugurating the seventh all-India Muslim educational conference.

Mrs Gandhi told the over 5,000 delegates from all over the country to look forward to an India "free from hatred where each section in aspiring to prosperity contributes by the very nature of its aspirations to the greatness of our ancient and beloved motherland."

Integrated personalities: Congratulating the All-India Muslim Education Society for organising the conference, she said the aim of education particularly of school children, should be to develop integrated personalities and it was possible only by having an integrated view of our own cultural traditions.

The Vice-President, Mr M. Hidayatullah, presided over the inaugural session.

Mr Sayed Ahmad Al-Jasir, Minister for Waqf, Kuwait, Shaikh Fouad S. Hussein, Ambassador of Saudi Arabia, Maj Gen R.S. Sasraprawira, Ambassador of Indonesia, Mr Amre Moussa, Ambassador of Egypt, the External Affairs Minister Mr P.V. Narasimha Rao, the Finance Minister Mr Pranab Mukherjee, the Education Minister, Mrs Sheila Kaul, and the Madhya Pradesh Chief Minister, Mr Arjun Singh, spoke.

Mrs Gandhi told the gathering that no aspect of our civilisation was the exclusive preserve of any one group. India's heritage of 5,000 years was the legacy of all humankind.

Secular education: She said education did not mean only refining manual, vocational and intellectual skills. Essentially, it was a process of deepening the spirit. "We are a secular society--secular not in the sense that we are materialists but that we respect every individual's and group's right to practise its own religion and form of worship." She wondered if it was right to think of education in terms of Muslim, Hindu or Christian education.

"One can have religious teaching and indeed the inculcation of certain moral and spiritual values is necessary, but the foundation of education should be national and of a high level."

Muslim education institutions, Mrs Gandhi said, would naturally want their students to know more about Islam. At the same time, "all our children should be acquainted with all the great religions of the world and also realise that it is the nature of knowledge to grow." The need for scientific attainment was greater than ever before.

Describing Urdu as a language of elegance and power of persuasion, Mrs Gandhi said it was part of Indian national heritage. Its development was as important as the development of other aspects of our total heritage.

She referred to the substantial contribution made by Muslims to the Indian society and its culture over a thousand years.

The Prime Minister said that there was special need to promote women's education in the country as a whole and among Muslims in particular.

Begum Fatima Mukarram Jah, wife of the erstwhile Prince of Hyderabad, presented a Koran and offered chunni (dupatta) to the Prime Minister.

The Minister of State for External Affairs, Mr A.A. Rahim, said education would help inculcating capacity to assimilate what was good and shun what was bad, capability to work shoulder to shoulder with others for the common destiny of humankind.--PTI

CSO: 4600/1762

MINERALS, METALS CORPORATION TELLS EXPORT PLANS

Madras THE HINDU in English 31 Mar 84 p 9

[Text] New Delhi, March 30--The Minerals and Metals Trading Corporation (MMTC) expects its total trade turnover in the current year to touch Rs 1,300 crores--Rs 70 crores more than the target--and has planned for a turnover of Rs 1,600 crores in 1984-85.

At a press conference here today, the Union Commerce Minister, Mr V.P. Singh commending the performance said that institutions like the STC and the MMTC would gradually develop into full-fledged trading houses, covering a wide range of items, even outside the category of metals and minerals.

He said there was a proposal for the MMTC exporting defence equipment. He declined to give details of the equipment identified for export and said the proposal was at a preliminary stage and intensive market studies were being carried out, he added.

Mr Singh wanted the MMTC to concentrate more on export of non-canalised items and strengthening the indigenous production base for exports.

Significant ore export deal: The Chairman of the MMTC, Mr S.V.S. Raghavan, said that the most significant feature of the performance in the current year was the long-term agreement concluded with Japan for iron ore exports providing for a minimum guaranteed offtake every year. The contract for 1984-85 envisaged export of eight million tonnes of ore to Japan and for the first time, Indian ships would be used for the export. South Korea had agreed to buy three million tonnes of iron ore in 1984-85, of which five lakhs tonnes would be shipped through Paradeep port. South Korea had also promised to consider export shipments on Indian vessels.

Seventh Plan export projection: Mr Raghavan said the MMTC had presented to the Government a paper on export target for iron ore in the Seventh Plan. This envisaged increasing exports from the current level of 25 million tonnes by 1989-90 and substantial development of facilities in the ports, railways and mines to bring India on a par with other exporting countries like Australia and Brazil.

It provided for deepening of the Vizag and Madras outer harbours to accommodate vessels of 150,000 to 250,000 DWT and provision of additional facilities like transhippers at Paradeep to handle 100,000 DWT vessels. The plan for railways included doubling of track, strengthening and laying of new lines. Opening of a new mine in Bailadila and augmentation of production of Bellary-Hospet and Barajamda sectors were also provided for.

China's interest: Mr Raghavan said China had placed an order for trial shipment of 30,000 tonnes of iron ore in the last quarter of 1984 from Barajamda sector through Paradeep. The MMTC had also achieved a breakthrough concluding a direct contract with China for the sale of 40,000 tonnes of chrome ore during 1983-84. Total exports of chrome ore during 1983-84 were about 125,000 tonnes, valued at Rs 8 crores. The Corporation had succeeded in increasing the price substantially during the year, taking advantage of the international market situation and timely conclusion of sales.

A major thrust was made in the exports of barytes which were presently decanalised and the Government was reconsidering the export policy. In anticipation of being assigned a more direct role in furthering export of barytes, the MMTC had concluded a long-term arrangement with Andhra Pradesh Mining Corporation (APMC) under which the entire sale of barytes produced by APMC would be handled by the MMTC. To facilitate this, the MMTC had taken steps to strengthen substantially the financial base of APMC by advancing Rs 2 crores as loan.

Despite the soaring international prices, the MMTC had maintained its selling prices of all the metals at its lowest to make the raw materials available to the industry at cheapest prices.

CSO: 4600/1762

GANDHI ADDRESSES PARTY WOMEN, DEDICATES EXCHANGE

Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 2 Apr 84 p 1

[Text] Lucknow, April 1--Mrs Gandhi today deprecated a tendency among some of her party workers to swarm around leaders for tickets for fighting elections without doing any constructive work for the party or the people, report PTI and UNI.

The Prime Minister, who was addressing a women training camp of her party at the Amausi aerodrome soon after her arrival here on a day's visit to the State, regretted that some workers were busy trying to "gain popularity."

The Prime Minister, who came here accompanied by Mr Rajiv Gandhi, the Union Minister, Mr Kidwai, and Mr Arun Nehru, M.P., was received, among others, by the State Chief Minister, Mr Sripati Misra and the U.P.C.C. chief Mr Sukhdeo Prasad.

Continuing her address, Mrs Gandhi asked her party men to counter Opposition propaganda.

Later, at Rae Bareilly, she dedicated the nation the crossbar unit of the Indian Telephone Industry and addressed party workers and legislators.

She accused the Opposition of indulging in false propaganda and misleading the people. All this posed a threat to the nation's unity and integrity.

On the Punjab issue, she said her government was taking all measures to restore normal conditions and peace. Nothing could be solved by agitations and violence. While her Government was ready to listen to the demands and grievances of the people it was not going to yield to any threat or coercion, she claimed.

She said her Government laid great stress on the development of backward areas. That was why it was setting up one or the other industry in such areas, she added.

The Prime Minister said the country had guaranteed freedom of worship and faith to everybody and the people by and large lived in peace. She said that India had a large percentage of Muslims and their rights were fully protected.

UNI adds: Mrs Gandhi called upon women to declare a "total war" on injustice and atrocities meted out to them.

Addressing a rally of women organized by the Lucknow city Congress (I), Mrs Gandhi said atrocities were committed against women in the name of dowry and other rhings, adding that "we have to fight against them so that we are not defamed in other parts of the world." Education among women would not help them achieve economic independence but could enable them to manage their homes in a systematic and planned manner, she said.

Mrs Gandhi said that the nation had considerably increased its food production owing to modernization of agriculture. She said that although we had not been able to banish poverty, its gravity was not as much as in the past.

CSO: 4600/1767

REPORT ON RAO SPEECH AT LISBON CONFERENCE

Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 10 Apr 84 p 7

[Text] Lisbon, April 9--India today called for another Marshall Plan to help the developing countries through a massive transfer of resources on concessional terms in view of the acute economic problems faced by them, reports PTI.

The External Affairs Minister, Mr P.V. Narasimha Rao, told a major conference on Europe's role in the North-South dialogue here that urgent action was needed to bring about a substantial increase in the flow of resources to the developing countries to meet their short-term balance of payments needs as well as for their long-term requirements.

Speaking on behalf of India and the rest of the non-aligned movement, Mr Rao stressed the need for a substantial increase in global liquidity on a scale commensurate with the requirements of the world economy and for a huge transfer of resources to the developing countries, both through bilateral and multilateral channels. "What we need is another Marshall Plan," he said after recalling that the reconstruction of post-war Europe owed much to initiatives like the Marshall Plan and to multilateral institutions established soon after the war.

Mr Rao accused rich nations of exploiting the developing countries economically and warned them that unless they adopted a more far-sighted approach a disaster of global proportions would follow. He said that policies being followed by many developed countries seemed to be guided by political exigencies. There was a tendency to return to a parochial approach that occasionally bordered on "economic chauvinism."

Mr Rao was one of the principal speakers at the opening session of the conference, which was also addressed by the President of Portugal, Mr Antonio Ramalho Eanes, the Portuguese Prime Minister, Mr Mario Soares, the Prime Minister of Cape Verde, Mr Pedro Pires, the President of the Parliamentary Assembly of Council of Europe, Mr Karl Ahrens, the Chairman of the Group of 77, Mr P. Munoz Ledo and the Chairman of the Committee of Ministers of Council of Europe, Mr Uffe Ellemann-Jensen.

The three-day conference, organized by the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe, will discuss inter-dependence between the developed and developing nations, reforms of the international economy and the role of Europe in the North-South dialogue. Mr Willy Brandt, a former West German Chancellor who headed an independent commission on international development issues and Commonwealth Secretary-General Mr Shridath Ramphal will be among the speakers.

Mr Rao pointed out that developing countries found themselves perpetually exploited, compelled to export their raw materials at prices over which they had no control and "not even able to keep their body and soul together by their export earnings and were thus being pushed into balance of payments distress chronically and were never able to get their development programmes off the ground.

He told the assembly of political leaders and international economists: "Unfortunately those who are exploiting them (developing countries) for the time being do not seem to realize that they are in reality harming their own interests in the long run by killing the proverbial goose that lays the golden egg."

Mr Rao recalled that the New Delhi non-aligned summit had put forward practical and constructive proposals for dealing with the present economic crisis and for a fundamental restructuring of international economic relations in order to ensure the permanent health of the world economy. India, in its capacity as chairman of the non-aligned movement, had taken a number of initiatives aimed at giving a new impetus to international cooperation for development.

The Foreign Minister said that despite these opportunities, there had been no significant advance in any of the areas of vital concern to the developing countries due to the negative attitude of some industrialized countries. As a matter of fact, there had recently been a slide-back in a number of important areas, such as decisions limiting access to IMF resources and the low level of the Seventh replenishment of the International Development Association.

Mr Rao hoped a way would soon be found to provide additional resources to enable the IDA not only to bring about an increase in real terms in the flow of resources to existing borrowers over the level of IDA-7 but also to meet the requirements of new borrowers. This could be done by setting up a supplementary fund to which countries which were ready to make higher donations to DA-7 could contribute, he said.

He urged Europe to provide a "more dynamic leadership on the side of the developed world to give a much needed impetus to the North-South Dialogue which has been stalled for too long." Europe and "the South" had a shared interest in each other's well-being and progress, he said.

CORRESPONDENT REPORTS HIGHLIGHTS OF IMPORT-EXPORT POLICY

Madras THE HINDU in English 13 Apr 84 p 6

[Text] New Delhi, April 12--The following are the highlights of the import-export policy.

REP (replenishment) rates below ten percent are being raised by one percentage point in order to provide additional access to inputs relevant to exports which have a high net foreign exchange earning.

In the case of exports of select products where the import replenishment rate is 20 percent or less, the flexibility for import of limited permissible items has been raised from 20 percent to 25 percent with an identical enhanced flexibility for canalised items.

Flexibility up to 100 percent (50 percent of the value of REP licence for import of limited permissible items and 50 percent for canalised items) would be available to manufacturer-exporters where the REP rate of select products exported is 20 percent or less, and 50 percent or more of the production of select products is exported.

Graded slab system: Maximum value limit up to which capital goods can be imported against REP licences has been raised from Rs 50 lakhs to Rs 75 lakhs. In order to relate the facility both to the FOB value of exports and to the percentage of production exported, a graded slab system has been introduced.

In order to encourage exports of higher value added manufactures, manufacturers producing exclusively for export of select industries to be specified would be given the facility of importing items required for export production against their own as well as acquired REP licences. Endorsements on required REP licences would be for up to a value equal to the value of REP licences obtained by such manufacturers during 1983-84 against exports of select products manufactured by them and carrying a REP rate of 50 percent or less.

Plan to promote software export: A new scheme has been introduced to promote exports of computer software. Exporters of such software would be able to augment their capability through import of computer hardware, software and peripherals.

The minimum level of qualifying exports of select products for recognition as export houses has been retained at Rs 50 lakhs and Rs 2 crores respectively in the case of small scale industrial (SSI) unit registered with the Director of Industries concerned or a consortia of SSI units. The threshold has been raised to Rs 3 crores in the case of units exporting select products and Rs 7 crores in the case of exports of 'non-select' products. The threshold in the case of trading houses has been raised to Rs 15 crores. However, the existing export/trading houses having a lower level of exports are being given time to achieve these levels.

Export houses: The minimum annual growth rate prescribed for export houses will continue to be 20 percent. For trading houses the growth rate is being raised from 15 to 20 percent.

Eligibility for additional licences for exports during 1984-85 to be issued during 1985-86 would be computed partly as a proportion of the net foreign exchange earned by an export house/trading house. This rationalisation should be particularly welcomed by units engaged in manufacture/export of items which have less import content and consequently realise higher net foreign exchange earnings.

Facilities to export cottage products: A scheme has been introduced for providing facilities of additional licences with effect from April 4, 1985 to a special category of entrepreneur-merchant-exporters (EMEs) who export select products from the SSI/cottage industries sector. Such EMEs would be merchant exporters who are not manufacturers themselves. The scheme is expected to promote exports from the small-scale/cottage industries.

In order that trading houses may develop a long term enduring relationship with their associate manufacturers, a scheme is being introduced for providing additional licences at a higher rate to trading houses which undertake to have such association for at least five years. This scheme is intended to create linkage between production and marketing for export.

Export diversification: Trading houses are required to spread their exports over at least three product groups. In order further to encourage export diversification, exports in each product group would now have to comprise at least 15 percent of the total exports.

If a trading house achieves an export level of Rs 100 crores or more in an individual product group, it will be subject to a minimum limit of only ten percent in respect of individual product groups.

Trading houses which export products in at least five product groups with minimum exports in each product group being at least 15 percent of the total exports would be given improved access to raw materials in terms of increased flexibility.

Incremental exports: Exports of new products or to new markets over and above the level achieved during 1983-84 will be reckoned at twice the FOB value of such incremental exports for computing the turnover of export houses and trading houses for purposes of recognition.

The scheme for advance licences under duty exemption scheme is being continued.

Registered exporters would be permitted to get input/output norms approved in anticipation of the export order, in order to help them apply for and obtain advance licences expeditiously.

In respect of deemed exports, the registered exporter can start making supplies against the orders to projects covered by IDA/IBRD after the date of submission of their application for issue of special import licence under the duty exemption scheme where raw material imports are involved.

In view of the encouraging response to the schemes regarding 100 percent export oriented units and free trade zones, the facilities are being continued.

Scheme for jewellers: A gold jewellery replenishment and export promotion scheme is being introduced to boost exports of gold jewellery and to harness the vast potential in the world markets in this field.

Facility is being allowed for import of samples by sea also without any import licence. The limit for import of samples by a manufacturer-exporter or his supporting manufacturer for product development has been raised from Rs 75,000 to Rs 1 lakh.

To encourage investment and for the timely execution of production programmes a number of items of industrial machinery have been added to the list of capital goods under Open General Licence.

Value limit for import of a single item of raw materials, components and consumables appearing in limited permissible list against automatic licence has been increased from Rs 1.5 lakh to Rs 2 lakhs per item.

Import of "sheetfed offset machines above four colour" has been allowed under OGL. Also items like automatic sheet counting and tab inserting equipment, electronic image assembly and page makeup systems and direct plate making systems for cameras and offset plate making have been put on OGL.

The value limit for import of a single restricted spare has been increased from Rs 1 lakh to 1.5 lakhs.

R and D units, scientific and research laboratories, institutions of higher education and hospitals can continue to import their requirements of spare under OGL.

Manufacturers of certain power generation equipment are being allowed the facility for import of spares for after-sales service. Indian agents of foreign machinery manufacturers are being allowed to import at a higher rate spares relating to machinery sold by or through them.

Facility for all star hotels: The facility for import of permissible spares under OGL currently available to four and five star hotels has been extended to one, two and three star hotels.

Permissible spares can now be imported under OGL by the Post and Telegraphs Department.

To enable industries to meet their requirements of imported equipment through leasing facilities, an enabling provision has been made so that leasing companies may be able to make such imports.

The National Small Industries Corporation and approved State Small Industries Development Corporations will be permitted to import capital goods for stock and sale to actual users in small scale sector. State agro-industries corporations would be permitted to imported agricultural machinery and spares for distribution to actual users.

Re-import of items after repairs abroad can be made under OGL if imported free of charge on C.I.F. basis.

The value limit for import of prototypes/samples against automatic licences has been raised from Rs 20,000 to Rs 50,000.

Spares of computers which are an integral part of photo-composing systems would be allowed to be imported without clearance by the Department of Electronics up to a value of five percent of the cost of the photo-composing machine.

It is proposed to identify, in consultation with the departments concerned, a list of industries where the import of technology may be permitted on OGL.

The limit for import of drawings and designs for technological upgradation, subject to prior approval is being raised from Rs 10 lakhs to Rs 25 lakhs.

A special provision is being made for meeting import requirements for technology development in some priority areas.

Taken out of OGL: In the light of developments that have taken place in the domestic industry, some items have been taken out of OGL. Some of the items have also been shifted from automatic permissible list to limited permissible or restricted lists. However, wherever improved access to raw material, components and consumables has been considered to be in the interest of the domestic industry, items have been shifted to a relatively more liberal 'list.'

With a view to proper monitoring of OGL imports, there is already a system of registration of contracts for import of certain OGL items.

As in the case of raw materials, the list of capital goods has also been reviewed. A few items of capital goods have been taken out of OGL and have been put in the restricted list, while a large number of other items have been placed under OGL.

With a view to preventing import of comparatively old machinery, the maximum age limit for the import of secondhand machinery has been reduced from 10 years to seven years.

List attestation procedure is being extended to textile machinery manufacturing units. This should benefit the growth of the indigenous industry.

Liberal policy for Non-Resident Indians with a few marginal adjustments is being continued.

The existing additional facilities for industries set up in backward areas or by graduates or diploma holders in professional subjects or by ex-service-men or persons belonging to Scheduled Castes/Scheduled Tribes would continue.

Registering with agency: Actual users are being given the facility to register either a six-monthly or a 12-monthly demand with the canalising agency.

Canalising agencies would now be required to indicate within 60 days--instead of the present limit of 90 days--the arrangements they would be able to make regarding supplies.

Where the canalising agency is not able to supply the material in time, provisions regarding direct import by actual users have been liberalised.

Canalising agencies are being given the option not to insist on earnest money deposit from actual users who register their demand with them.

Import of greases/lubricating oils up to Rs 10,000 is being allowed on OGL upon issue of a 'no objection certificate' by the canalising agency.

The value limit for import of consumables for office machines has been raised. List of office equipment which can be imported has been enlarged to include telex machines, PBX/PABX including electronically operated PBX/PABX systems.

Import licences, which used to have a validity period of 12 months, will now have a total validity of 18 months. The validity periods for other licences (i.e. licences for capital goods, emergency spares, CCPs) will continue as before. Facility of revalidation would not be available on any CCP or a licence other than a capital goods licence.

A procedure for expeditious issue of clarification by designated authorities is being introduced.

The appendices in Volume I of the policy book 1984-85 have been rationalised and their 'headings' have also been modified in some cases. This does not, however, affect the basic structure of the policy of the items contained in the appendices. Some of the appendices have been shifted to the handbook of import--export procedures.

In respect of items appearing in Appendices 1 and 10 of the policy book, Indian Trade Classification-Second Revision (ITC-R2) and the Customs Cooperate Council Nomenclature (CCCN) codes have been mentioned.

CSO: 4600/1788

CONFERENCE OF ENVOYS TO SOUTHEAST ASIA REPORTED

Madras THE HINDU in English 3 Apr 84 p 9

[Article by G.K. Reddy]

[Text] A three-day conference of Indian envoys in South Asian countries opened today at a time when the country is facing many difficulties in the conduct of its neighbourhood diplomacy.

A notable feature of this conference is that it is being held for the first time after a Foreign Secretary, Mr M.K. Rasgotra, assumed direct charge of relations with all neighbouring countries, which were hitherto being looked after by different territorial divisions.

Another important aspect of it is that again for the first time, Afghanistan and Burma have been included in this group, which till now was limited to Pakistan, Nepal, Bhutan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka and Maldives. The focus of these discussions is naturally on the current strains in Indo-Pakistan relations and the renewed tensions in Sri Lanka which are impairing the prospects for a peaceful settlement of the island's ethnic problems.

The Pakistan and Sri Lanka situations which have been engaging the attentions of India in recent months will be discussed in depth to see what could be done to end the current drift in the country's relations with them. But Afghanistan continues to provide a disconcerting international dimension to the endemic pulls and pressures of the South Asian region.

As the largest and by far the most important country in this region, India has had no South Asian policy as such all these years, since it was more inclined to deal with its neighbours in their narrow bilateral contexts. It is only in the last two years that the policymakers in Delhi have started responding with some enthusiasm to the idea of South Asian economic cooperation after India's initial reservations about the very concept of it.

A peculiar geopolitical feature of South Asia is that though all the other six countries of the region--Pakistan, Nepal, Bhutan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka and Maldives--have common frontiers with India, they do not share common borders among themselves. It places the onus of getting along well with all these countries squarely on India, which gets blamed for their own inability to develop viable foreign policies capable of sustaining their self-interests.

The constant dilemma that India has been facing in the conduct of its neighbourhood diplomacy is whether a policy of appeasement based on misplaced generosity can by itself help to win friends in the region or whether concessions made from a position of strength in deserving cases would make a better impact in the long run. The Janata tried to pursue the first policy but failed to impress them with its benevolence, whereas Mrs Gandhi has opted for the other alternative as a matter of conscious choice in the belief that it would yield better results.

The Indian envoys from these eight countries with Afghanistan and Burma added to the South Asian six are meeting against this general background to identify areas where India should face the challenge of irrational hostility and deep-rooted suspicions with a firm resolve to uphold its interests. The trophy for revelling in its perverse hatred of India naturally goes to Pakistan, but Sri Lanka does not lag far behind in its pathological fears of Indian hegemonism to justify its own ethnic intolerances.

The relationship with Nepal has been marred by frequent ups and downs, despite the traditional kinship of the two peoples. The Indo-Bangla relations have been equally plagued by imaginary grievances which are mostly hang-overs of the past that have been aggravated by an unnatural partition followed by the break-up of erstwhile Pakistan.

It is only with Bhutan that India has been able to maintain a reasonably close relationship by yielding to the demands of changing times and circumstances. The treaty is now being interpreted by India with greater imagination, while Bhutan is not attempting to dilute its links with India in quietly pressing forward with its aspirations for wider contacts with the outside world.

CSO: 4600/1771

PRESS REPORTS DEVELOPMENTS CONCERNING SRI LANKA

Rahim Statement in Lok Sabha

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 4 Apr 84 p 14

[Text] New Delhi, April 3 (PTI)--India today emphasised the utmost importance of taking steps to restore confidence and instil a sense of security among the minorities in Sri Lanka so that they did not feel compelled to come to India.

Making a statement in the Lok Sabha on the situation in the island, the minister of state for external affairs, Mr A.A. Rahim, said in the present critical situation it was all the more necessary that renewed efforts should be made to work out a political solution acceptable to all communities in Sri Lanka.

Mr Rahim said the situation in Sri Lanka was again becoming tense and referred to the spate of violent incidents in the northern and eastern provinces in recent weeks in which innocent lives had been lost. These had caused deep concern and anguish in India, especially in Tamil Nadu.

He pointed out that in the wake of ethnic violence in Sri Lanka last July, a large number of persons had come to India and sought refuge. Their number was around 30,000 at present.

The presence of such a large number of displaced persons "places us in a difficult situation," he said.

False Campaign

Mr Rahim said it was unfortunate that responsible members of the Sri Lankan government had seen fit to make baseless allegations against India. They were totally false and India had conveyed to the Sri Lankan government that there were no caches or arms or training camps on Indian territory.

He said: "We have nothing but goodwill for Sri Lanka and have done nothing to warrant the campaign being directed against us in recent days."

The minister cautioned that this did not help to deal with "this complex and sensitive issue (of ethnic Indians)" in a rational and constructive manner. It only came in the way of long-standing and friendly relations between the two countries.

Mr Rahim reaffirmed that India posed no threat to Sri Lanka and had repeatedly expressed its commitment to the unity and integrity of that country and opposition to secession and all forms of violence. The Prime Minister, Mrs Indira Gandhi, herself had said so on the floor of Parliament.

At the same time, India had an abiding interest in the restoration of peace and harmony in the island, since developments there affected India closely.

Mr Rahim said what had added to the gravity of the situation was the fact that there had been hardly any progress in the search for a lasting political solution to the ethnic problem in Sri Lanka.

India found nothing substantial had emerged from the deliberations of the round-table conference held in Colombo for a solution to the problem. He said and hoped that the existing stalemate would be broken when discussions resumed on May 9 next.

He recalled that the Prime Minister had made available India's good offices to Sri Lanka to facilitate a viable political settlement which India had striven sincerely to promote.

The minister said the feelings of the people throughout the country at the wanton and senseless killings had been shared by members of the house.

G.K. Reddy Report

Bombay THE HINDU in English 6 Apr 84 p 1

[Article by G.K. Reddy]

[Text] New Delhi, April 5--The Lok Sabha will have a special discussion tomorrow on the reported decision of Sri Lanka to impose military rule in the Jaffna area where the Sri Lanka armed forces recently indulged in indiscriminate killing of civilians following some violent incidents there.

The External Affairs Minister, Mr P.V. Narasimha Rao, was due to make a statement on the subject in response to a calling attention notice today, but the Speaker agreed to the demand of many Opposition members to have a fuller discussion tomorrow on this development.

As it so happened, the five members whose names were chosen through a ballot for sponsoring the calling attention motion were all non-Tamilians from different States while the Tamil Nadu members felt that they should be given a chance to express their concern by converting this into a fuller discussion.

The Parliamentary Affairs Minister, Mr Buta Singh, who readily agreed to the suggestion, said that Tamil Nadu members from the Government side also were equally keen on a fuller discussion. He made this observation presumably to clarify that it was not only those Tamil Nadu members from the Opposition but also the Congress (I) members from the State wanted to voice their feelings against the happenings in Jaffna area.

The External Affairs Minister said that if the discussion was held today he might not be able to come forward with any more information than what had been said in the statement made two days back by the Minister of State, Mr A.A. Rahim. It was to enable him to gather more information that the Speaker fixed the discussion for tomorrow with the approval of members from both sides of the House.

Seizure of boats: Mr Narasimha Rao tried to allay the fears voiced during the question-hour that Sri Lankan Naval boats were interfering with the legitimate movements of Indian fishermen. He said that in bad weather the fishing vessels tended to stray across the maritime boundary and that every time incidents of Indian boats being seized and their crew members arrested by Sri Lankan authorities came to the notice of the Government, the matter was immediately taken up by the Indian High Commissioner in Colombo who has managed to secure the release of some of the detained boats and arrested seamen.

In all eight Indian fishing vessels had been seized till last month and the crew members of two of them, "Florida-441" and Prima-641, have since been released through the Indian High Commissioner's intervention. In addition, six Indian boats have been detained and their skippers were on bail in Jaffna, while the crew of all of them except one have returned to India. The Sri Lankan authorities have agreed to release two of these six boats detained by them.

It was quite evident from the restrained tone of Mr Narasimha Rao's replies that the Government of India did not want to say anything that might strain Indo-Sri Lankan relations at this stage. The main efforts of India are directed at ensuring the success of the roundtable talks.

CSO: 4600/1773

PRESS REPORTS ON PLANS TO BUILD BORDER FENCE

Home Minister in Lok Sabha

Madras THE HINDU in English 5 Apr 84 p 7

[Text] New Delhi, April 4--The Home Minister, Mr P.C. Sethi, told the Lok Sabha today that the Bangladesh Government had delivered a note to the Indian High Commission in Dacca protesting against the proposed fencing of the border to check infiltration. The External Affairs Ministry was, however, yet to receive the text of the protest note.

Meanwhile, the Bangladesh Rifles (BDR) across the border had been strengthened, Mr Sethi added.

He told Mr Ratansingh Rajda that there had been infiltration of Bangladesh nationals not only into Assam but into West Bengal as well. Some of them had crossed over to Bihar. While the West Bengal Government was taking measures to check the infiltration, the checking of persons crossing over to Bihar had started.

Mr Sethi said the entire border with Bangladesh would be fenced to check infiltration. The project, costing about Rs 201 crores, would initially start with surveys on a 100-km stretch along the border in Dhubri district of Assam and West Dinajpur of West Bengal. It would take about four months to complete the surveys, immediately after which the fencing work would be started.

The Central Public Works Department had been asked to submit its report on road construction for which Rs 240 crores had been allocated.

Regarding the reported presence of Bangladesh nationals in Bombay, Mr Sethi said he had written a letter to the Maharashtra Chief Minister. Enquiries showed that there were no Bangladesh nationals in Bombay but crossing over of some other nationals from Kutch, Gujarat and other areas was reported. They would be detected and deported.

Mr Indrajit Gupta wanted to know whether the Government had asked the Border Security Force to demolish houses constructed within 100 metres from the border, particularly in the 24 Parganas district of West Bengal.

The Minister said no such order had been issued and he would make enquiries into the particular case in the 24 Parganas district and inform the member.

The protest: In Dhaka, a Bangladesh official spokesman said late last night that his country had strongly objected to the construction of the barbed wire fencing along the border and termed it as a violation by India of the border agreement between the two countries.

The acting Indian High Commissioner in Dhaka was summoned to the Foreign Office and handed a "strong" protest note. He was told to ask his Government to stop building the fence in the interests of good relations.

The note said work on the "zero line" was a violation of the agreement under which neither country could take up any defensive construction within 150 yards of the line.

Reports said Bangladesh border authorities had been alerted in the wake of the Indian move.

According to Radio Bangladesh two Indian teams, comprising workers and surveyors, accompanied by Border Security Force and police personnel had started digging on the "zero line" for erecting the fencing.--UNI & PTI

High Commissioner's Remarks

Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 9 Apr 84 p 1

[Text] Mr I.P. Khosla, India's High Commissioner in Bangladesh, said in Calcutta on Sunday that the Government of India would go ahead with its decision to erect a barbed wire fence along the border with Bangladesh despite protests by that country.

He told reporters at Calcutta airport on his way to Dhaka from Delhi that there was no question of India reversing the decision since the problem of infiltration from Bangladesh into the neighbouring Indian States was genuine. India had to adopt certain measures to deal with it.

He said working on fencing, which had begun at the trijunction of West Bengal, Assam and Bangladesh, did not in any way violate India's border agreements with Bangladesh.

He said there was no valid reason behind the protest because the fencing was not a defensive structure and did not pose any threat to Bangladesh. It was unfortunate that Dhaka was trying to make an issue of it. Delhi had been trying to impress upon Dhaka the reality of Bangladesh influx and its impact on demography and internal situation. The problem was acute in West

Bengal and Bihar. "We cannot accept their contention that there is no illegal flow of people from Bangladesh into our country. We have given them conclusive evidence with facts and figures. The question of humiliating Bangladesh does not arise. The borders of many other countries have been fenced. Because of Dhaka's unhelpful stand there is little likelihood of a meeting ground in this matter. Fencing should not be an issue," Mr Khosla remarked.

The High Commissioner said that the External Affairs Ministry was studying Dhaka's protest notes and its reaction would be known shortly.

Mr Khola said that India was trying to persuade Bangladesh to pay compensation to those Indian nationals whose property had been sold by the Bangladesh Government. Dhaka is yet to reply to India's queries.

CSO: 4600/1776

PAPERS REPORT DEVELOPMENTS IN DEFENSE ISSUES

Defense Ministry Admonished

Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English 30 Mar 84 p 5

[Text]

New Delhi, March 29 (PTI): Parliament's Public Accounts Committee (PAC) has criticised the defence ministry for showing "lack of vigour and seriousness" in the formulation and implementation of projects "in a vital sector like defence."

Expressing "shock" over the inordinate delay in the completion of the electrically-controlled target mechanism (ETM) system, the preparation of a prototype for which was ordered in 1958 by the then Army Chief the committee asked the Army authorities to "ensure that such delays do not recur."

In its 182nd action-taken report, presented to the Lok Sabha today, the committee noted "similar casual approach" in planning as well as execution of other defence projects.

The committee stressed that in defence matters "where Parliament is so generous in granting funds," delays in the formulation and execution of projects having a vital bearing on the defence of the country should not be allowed.

The PAC had pointed out in an earlier report that despite numerous advantages of the ETM system of training which

saves manpower as well as expenditure (Rs 2.28 crores annually) and its superiority, there had been "inordinate delay" both in its initial formation and subsequent execution.

Though the then Army chief had issued orders in 1958 for preparing a prototype for the ETM system, a decision in this regard was taken only in 1965. Five years more were taken for various sanctions and the prototype was produced in 1970. It took another eight years for the defence authorities to decide upon further improvements on the system.

In its explanation, the defence ministry had told the committee that the new system was suitable only for firing of the self-loading rifles and not the antiquated bolt-action with which the Army was then equipped.

The ministry had also stated that the self-loading system was introduced only after 1962 and the process of changing over to it continued well beyond 1965, when the actual decision to introduce it was taken. "The period from 1958 to 1965 should not thus be taken into account as they did not have the proper arms to fire on the system," the ministry said.

Wide-Ranging Defense Production

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 6 Apr 84 p 7

[Text] Bangalore, April 5--India's design and development of submarines, advanced light helicopters and anti-tank guided missiles are the salient features this year, according to Mr H.S. Sarin, secretary, defence production.

Mr Sarin said here last night that the projected increase in production by defence public undertakings would constitute 26 percent or an increase from Rs 1,412 crores in 1983-84 to Rs 1,783 crores in 1984-85.

With nine defence public undertakings, India's product mix is wide-ranging with different types of aircraft, helicopters, avionics, aero-engines, electronic equipment including radars, weapons control systems and components and television picture tubes, earth-moving equipment and rail coaches, frigates, merchant ships, bulk carriers, patrol vessels, tugs, off-shore platforms, jack-up rigs, missiles, torpedoes, machine tools and super alloys.

The profits increased from Rs 100.9 crores to Rs 116.3 crores. This was set off by an aggregate loss of Rs 34.8 crores incurred by the Garden Reach shipbuilders and engineers, Mishra Dhatu Nigam and Bharat Dynamics Ltd.

The substantial loss of Rs 23 crores incurred by Garden Reach is attributed mainly to Moghul Lines' orders for three bulk carriers in 1975, the final prices and terms for which are yet to be determined.

Guided Missiles

Mishra Dhatu Nigam went into commercial production of metallurgicals two years ago and it would take some more time to establish its products in the market and attain economic viability.

Bharat Dynamics which specialises in guided missiles, has taken up a new project and is expected to do better this year.

Bangalore continues to be the largest base of defence production. Hindustan Aeronautics Ltd., Bharat Electronics Ltd, and Bharat Earthmovers Ltd, here accounted for about 72 percent of the aggregate value of production and turnover in 1983-84. These three companies registered a production of Rs 1,014.9 crores, which is expected to increase to Rs 1,196 crores this year. Together these units also accounted for an export of Rs 31 crores this year.

Among the highlights of the activities of HAL is the design and development of a vector cardiogram which is being used by Sq Leader Rakesh Sharma, India's first cosmonaut, for his experiments aboard Salyut-7.

The new avionics unit at Korwa in U.P. is likely to commence production this year. Kiran MK-32 trainer aircraft of indigenous design has been produced for the first time. A large number of indigenously designed avionics equipment has been produced and installed on various types of aircraft and helicopters.

The MiG aircraft is being manufactured from the raw material stage, including engine and accessories. Major steps have been taken in this regard. This would materialise in 1985-86. Besides, a HAL-designed turbo-jet engine for pilotless target aircraft has been successfully tested.

Bharat Electronics Ltd has signed an agreement with the Indian Space Research Organisation for the development of specialist radars for tracking launch vehicles. Microwave tubes will be developed under an understanding with the Central Electronic Engineering Research Institute.

BEL's unit at Taloja, in Maharashtra, will manufacture one million black and white television glass shells per year in collaboration with Corning Glass Works of the U.S. The production may begin in two years. Colour TV panels can also be produced here. Two new units at Panchakula, in Haryana, and Kotdwar, in Uttar Pradesh, may go on stream in 1985-86 to increase BEL's volume of production.

BEL has also acquired Andhra Scientific Company at Machilipatnam, where opto-electronic equipment with night vision devices will be manufactured.

A major contribution by BEL will be the supply of high-power and low-power transmitters for "the crash plan" for expansion of the TV network in the country. The company has also developed indigenous technology for liquid crystal devices in collaboration with the Raman Research Institute here.

Export of earthmoving equipment and spares worth Rs 14.25 crores is the highlight of BEML's performance. The importing countries are Bulgaria, Indonesia and Bhutan.

The six profit-making defence units are HAL, BEML, Goa Shipyard, Praga Too's (Hyderabad), Mazagon Dock and BEL.

Mazagon Dock has a history of 100 years and it has to its credit warships and merchant ships of up to 27,000 dwt, India's Leander class frigates and the more sophisticated and indigenously designed Godavari class frigates. The activities of this indigenous establishment also includes the fabrication and installation of offshore platforms, ship repair, refitting, general engineering and warship modernisation.

More Defense Production Units

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 3 Apr 84 p 8

[Text]

Calcutta, April 2 (PTI)—Three more defence production units are being set up in different parts of the country to augment supply of various types of components, products and equipment for the defence services.

Union Minister of State for Defence K P Singh Deo told PTI in an interview that these three units were in project stage and would come up at Itarsi in Madhya Pradesh, Dehu Road near Pune in Maharashtra and the other at Titlagarh in Orissa.

Mr Singh Deo said the year 1983-84 witnessed further growth in the value of production of ordnance factories, which stood at Rs 950 crores against Rs 869 crores in 1982-83 and Rs 787 crores in 1981-82. The growth rate was 10.56 per cent in terms of gross value of production. The perspective plan provided for substantial investment and growth in the production of arms and ammunition in the coming years.

In reply to a question on modernisation programme of ordnance factories, Mr Singh Deo said this was a continuing process but made it clear that it would not cause any layoff of personnel. Old and outdated plant and machinery in ordnance factories were being replaced

by new and modern equipment in a planned manner consistent with the needs of the defence services to continuously modernise their equipment to keep abreast of the rapidly changing military technology, he said.

Even indigenisation, the Minister said, was a continuing process, while ordnance factories had achieved almost 100 per cent indigenisation in the production of a number of defence items, no country in the world was self-sufficient as it was neither economically practical nor desirable. But indigenisation process was in progress for conservation of foreign exchange through import substitution for self-reliance and self-sufficiency.

Homemade Missile System

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 11 Apr 84 p 5

[Article by Cecil Victor]

[Text] The first of a series of completely indigenous missile systems will be delivered to the services by 1987.

By the end of 1993 the Indian armed forces would be equipped with surface-to-air, air-to-air, air-to-surface and anti-tank laser-guided and infra-red homing missiles developed and made within the country.

The Defence Research and Development Laboratory, Hyderabad, in collaboration with more than a dozen laboratories and about 30 industries is working to complete the projects within the timeframe set by the Government.

Director of DRDL, Dr Abdul Kalam has said that Government had cleared the projects in 1983 and enjoined the which is the coordinator, to complete the three or four missile systems from drawing board to use within a decade.

To that end the manpower of the laboratory has been doubled from 1,600 of which 300 are scientists to 3,200 with 500 scientists specialising in a wide range of related technologies.

At the same time representatives of the users (the armed forces) and the production units have been included in the decision-making process so as to ensure that the user gets what he wants on time.

By this system of parallel coordination, it is projected that the missiles with approximately Mach-4 (four times the speed of sound) and fire and forget capability, deployable with the armed forces with a minimum of interchangeability will be completed by 1993.

Intense research and development backed by computers and test facilities is being conducted in laboratories all over the country in propulsion technology, guidance and control, systems engineering and flight vehicle.

In propulsion the three major areas of research and development are solids (solid fuel); liquid fuel and ramjet rocket technology.

(Ramjet technology is useful for low-level, high-speed missiles. The ramjet engine uses the force of air pressure for combustion. It is not a new technology, having been developed between the two world wars, but the concept has been put to use in cruise missiles which have to travel low through dense atmosphere).

For guidance and control inertial navigation, radio command and laser and infra-red homing combined with aero-dynamic and thrust control are being developed.

Special studies are being conducted to create composite materials which are both light in weight and tough for the body of the missile.

Dr Kalam and his associates have been recruiting scientists from India and abroad, seeking out those who would prefer to earn the "psychic dollar"—the satisfaction of working in frontier sciences for the general good of the country—than go abroad to earn hard currency.

With a dedicated band of highly-qualified staff at his disposal and adequate fabrication and testing facilities, Dr Kalam appears supremely confident that targets will be met. The first missile (which type, he refuses to divulge) will be ready by 1987.

Electronic Warfare Improvements

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 11 Apr 84 p 5

[Text]

While preparing for action in the air, on land, on sea and underwater defence laboratories are also working on "ethereal defence" which is perhaps the most insidious of modern warfare methods.

Electronic warfare which can render opponent 'blind' and 'deaf and dumb' by obstructing his surveillance and communications systems is a combination of active and passive systems which counter (electronic counter measures) the enemy's attempt at disruption and take counter offensive (electronic counter counter measures).

These are systems which no nation will part with for love or money and it is best not to seek them from abroad, says Dr E Bhagiratha Rao, Director of the Defence Electronics Research Laboratory (DLRL), Hyderabad, where several super-secret electronic warfare systems are being developed.

"In this area, India is somewhere near the best among the developed nations," he indicates.

It is an area in which everyone knows what you intend doing the moment you buy an antenna; where imported equipment (or even one's own) could generate electromagnetic interference (emi) which is something like a self-inflicted wound; and where obsolescence is an everyday phenomenon.

India has developed and manufactured its own antennae for several modes of application. It has exported to Europe its secondary surveillance system.

A very high-power committee is overseeing

work on electromagnetic compatibility and electromagnetic interference (emc/emi) because the diverse types of equipment in the confined environment of ships and aircraft tend to cancel each other out.

(The best illustration of this is the sinking of the British frigate Sheffield during the Falklands war. The captain of the ship had to shut down a missile tracking system to be able to operate a satellite navigation system. At that moment the Argentinian aircraft launched its Exocet missile which the ship could not detect because its tracking system was shut down due to mutual electromagnetic interference).

The DLRL has improved the "interrogation friend of foe (IFF)" system to ensure that no foreign aircraft can duplicate the response and disguise itself as "friend" and effect a penetration of Indian airspace.

In its and several other laboratories around the country it has developed and productionised several systems and sub-systems. New micro-systems and critical components have been developed and tested for resistance to mould, salt-spray, rain and dust — the kind of environment they will have to operate in — before they are incorporated in the equipment.

Computer software and such new technologies as reactive bonding film techniques are being developed so that, in the words of Dr Bhagiratha Rao, there could be "graceful degradation" of electronic systems during hostilities — which means retaining control of the ether — even as the enemy is trying to make you blind and dumb.

Light Combat Aircraft

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 6 Apr 84 p 8

[Text]

Bangalore, April 5 (PTI)—An "integrated" team has started work on the proposed Light Combat Aircraft (LCA), Union Defence Secretary M.C. Sarin said here today.

Mr Sarin told a press conference that the project was in the "conception stage now" and international collaboration for the manufacture of LCA's sub-systems with reputed firms was being discussed.

Mr Sarin said the integrated team consisted of officials of HAL, IAF and others concerned in the manufacture of the LCA, which was likely to be fitted with indigenous GTX engines ultimately.

Mr. Sarin said that HAL also proposed to manufacture advance light helicopters and negotiations with collaborators were in final stages.

He said that the first Indian made Dornier light transport aircraft would roll out by 1985-86 from the Kanpur unit of the HAL.

While about 110 Dornier aircraft would be purchased—the first of which will arrive in the next few months—an almost double the number was expected to be manufactured in India.

Mr. Sarin said there was good demand for the aircraft even from ONGC and Space Department.

The IAF was yet to take a decision on the purchase or otherwise of "Ajeet trainer" from HAL, Mr. Sarin said. He denied a report that the Air Force had dropped the idea of going in for this "controversial" two-seater, on account of the loss

of its first prototype in an accident. He also denied the report that this trainer was being thrust on the Indian Air Force.

Mr Sarin said the second prototype of this transonic trainer which had been successfully flown was performing well. The Navy had shown keen interest in Ajeet, he said.

Stating the achievements of other defence sector undertakings, Mr Sarin said the BEL had developed indigenous technology for the manufacture of liquid crystal devices in collaboration with Raman Research Institute, here.

The company would start commercial production of these devices this year for which there were orders for use in watches and measuring instruments.

The production of opto-electronics at the BEL unit in Machilipatnam (Andhra Pradesh) would start next year, Mr Sarin said.

The BEL had also signed an agreement with ISRO for development of specialist radars for tracking launch vehicles. It had signed a memorandum of understanding with Central Electronic Engineering Research Institute, Pilani for development of microwave tubes.

The Bharat Earth Movers Limited had produced 3.8 cum hydraulic excavators and advanced version of motor grader. During 1983-84, it exported Rs 14.25 crore worth of equipment to Bulgaria, Algeria, Indonesia and Bhutan, Mr Sarin said.

CSO: 4600/1789

REPORTAGE ON DEPARTMENT OF SPACE ANNUAL REPORT

Critical Phase for India

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 6 Apr 84 p 5

[Text]

India is now able to design, develop and fabricate sounding rockets and satellites and would soon be able to place spacecrafts in orbit with Indian launch vehicles, according to the performance budget report on the Department of Space for 1984-85, reports PTL.

The report says that the space efforts of India have entered a critical phase, as it transitions from the competence building phase to the operationalisation of nation-wide services.

The main thrust of the space programmes in the next five years is progress towards completing the interlinkages between the launch vehicle, the satellite and its applications, development and utilisation programmes.

In the coming years, Indian use of outer space can be expected to make significant contributions towards solving three major national problems. These are—eradication of mass illiteracy and country-wide enhancement of adult and non-formal education, efficient survey and management of the vast natural resources and improved nation-wide telecommunications.

While the above primary areas will continue to dominate the national space scene, during the Seventh Five Year Plan, stress would be laid on other direct and indirect applications of space technology, says the performance report.

Products, Processes Developed

Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 11 Apr 84 p 9

[Text] New Delhi, April 10--As many as 56 highly sophisticated products and processes developed by the Space Research Organization and the National Remote Sensing Agency have been licensed to 27 aircraft, electronic and chemical industries so far. These include adhesives, sealants and special chemicals for aircraft application and several items of television studio equipment.

The products and processes for aircraft application have been licenced to Hindustan Aeronautics, according to the report of the Deptmt of Space for 1983-84. Of the 19 adhesives and sealants licensed, 12 are under regular production at HAL's new plant in Nasik. Three more are under shop trial.

At least 23 new items are in the final stage of readiness for technology transfer, according to the report. These include: georeceivers, shipborne communication terminals, infra-red thermometers, a variable angle of incidence spectrophotometers and antireflection coatings for infra-red optics.

It is the policy of the Department of Space, says the report, to make available to industry the expertise gained through the space programme. "In the past few years, plants, production lines, and division of small, medium and large industrial undertakings have been set up with ISRO technology or a combination of ISRO research and development and industry experience to meet the needs of the industrial market as well as the space programme. A number of plants and production lines have been established with ISRO know-how for primarily non-space applications as industrial spin-offs of Indian space technology."

At the Indian Drugs and Pharmaceuticals in Hyderabad, production of the liquid fuel for rockets, unsymmetrical dimethyl hydrazine, or UDMH as it is simply known, commenced some time ago.

Likewise, the process know-how for epoxy-based insulation coating of resistors and capacitors has been successfully implemented by an electronics firm in Quilon, Kerala. The hardener of the coating compound is also said to have been indigenized.

There has been a large order from All India Radio for the ISRO-developed INSAT radio-networking terminal, licensed to Keltron. The latter has already commenced production.

At a Hyderabad engineering firm, production has similarly commenced of an NRSA-developed optical reflecting projector, a valuable cartographic and remote-sensing utilization equipment. Production began, according to the report, within three months of the transfer of technology relating to this item.

Among the ISRO-developed items now in regular production in various industries are: pressure and thrust transducers, 1.5 silver zinc cells, liquid phenolic resin, remote multiplexing encoding unit, digital time base corrector for television studios, high-power amplifiers, data collection, storage and transmission systems, and spectro-radiometers.

CSO: 4600/1779

PRESS REPORTS ACHIEVEMENTS IN JOINT SPACE FLIGHT

Remote Sensing Experiment

Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 7 Apr 84 p 1

[Text] Moscow, April 6--The Soyuz T-11 crew aboard the Salyut 7 today began the Indian-sponsored "terra" remote-sensing experiment, filming Indian territory twice in four flights over the country, reports UNI.

Operating hand-held camera was the Indian cosmonaut, Squadron Leader Rahesh Sharma, on the fourth day of his space journey. Officials said Sharma, Malyshev and Strekalov "are all doing well."

The cosmonauts filmed with wide angle multi-spectral cameras for four minutes and 20 seconds the areas of the Andaman, Nicobar and Lakshadwip islands, the Northwestern areas and the eastern coastline.

During the 14th orbit, the cosmonauts conducted a "synchronous experiment" with the Indian Air Force and the Indian land tracking stations--Salyut 7 and IAF aircraft together filmed Indian territory for comparative study.

The pictures will help identify structures holding out the promise of oil, gas and other mineral resources. Besides, they would be used for remote sensing in the fields of geology, land use, environment, snow cover, hydrology and agriculture.

Mission Control officials here said squadron Leader Sharma was joined by fellow Soviet cosmonauts Malyshev and Strekalov in the geological prospecting of Indian territory.

Flight Director on duty, Viktor Blagov, said the photographs made in one orbit would enable scientists to obtain information equivalent to aerial surveys of two years.

Mission Control said adaptation by the cosmonauts to space conditions was proceeding normally. Answering questions by reporters, Mr Blagov said squadron leader Sharma participated in four of the nine experiments of the day.

The medical experiments are supervised by the physician cosmonaut, Oleg Atkov, who has been on board Salyut 7 for more than eight weeks.

Squadron Leader Sharma and his fellow Soviet cosmonauts will remain in the space station for four more days and return to Earth on April 11.

Indian Official in Moscow

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 7 Apr 84 p 5

[Text]

Moscow, April 6 (UNI, PTI)—Air Marshal Mulkraj said here today that the experience gained by the manned flight would enable India to launch its own manned flights.

Head of the Indian Technical Committee here, Air Marshal Mulkraj said: "When we have learnt methodology and if occasion arises for us to plan for our own flights we would be able to do so".

The spaceflight marks the completion of one stage of cooperation between the two countries in the realm of space research, according to a spokesman for the Space Research Centre of the USSR Academy of Sciences.

Future cooperation includes the launching of an Indian satellite from a Soviet launch pad, the spokesman said. The 800-kg satellite would be put into space in the near future, the spokesman said but did not elaborate.

Soviet scientists are confident that India would be able to launch heavier satellites, weighing more than a tonne, the spokesman added. The path-breaking Aryabhata and the two Bhaskaras were launched from Soviet launch pads.

The spokesman said preparations for the joint spaceflight had taken more than three years. It normally took two years for a cosmonaut to prepare for a spaceflight but scientists had to start preparing much earlier, he said. Hundreds of Indian and Soviet scientists had participated in laying the basis for the flight and all the hard work had borne fruit, he said.

The experience of space odyssey is expected to make significant contributions for improved telecommunications, efficient survey and management of natural resources.

As a result of this experience, the coming years will witness a gradual but distinct transition from developing competence and building

infrastructure to the next phase in which the focus will be on realisation of part-operational and fully operational systems for specific practical applications in national development.

The principal thrusts of the Indian space programme have been satellite communications for various national uses and satellite remote sensing for resources survey and management, environmental monitoring and meteorological services.

The philosophy behind India's overall approach is to concentrate on developing expertise and gaining experience in designing, building, organising, handling and managing the grounding part of application-oriented satellite-based systems and working at the same time on developing capabilities for making first, application satellites and then launch vehicles.

The 17-ton SLV-3, which zoomed into space on 17 April last year, was indigenously built, it put into orbit a Rohini satellite, which was also indigenously made.

Experts at the mission control centre at Kaliningrad said the four-minute-earlier-than-scheduled docking by the Soyuz T-11 craft was nothing unusual. "It has happened before but what cosmonauts must guard against is a very fast docking. That is not good for the spacecraft", they said.

Officials said the exact time of docking is difficult to predict. "We only give theoretical timing here, based on computer calculations. But there is one pre-condition — docking must be during daylight".

They said the docking for instance of the Soviet-French joint flight was so fast, it was surprising. "The craft was right over the Mediterranean then", mission deputy director Victor Blagov said adding "maybe, the French cosmonaut Jean-Lup Cretien wanted to see France".

CSO: 4600/1779

INDIA

BRIEFS

PAKISTAN ARMS BUILDUP--General A.S. Vaidya, Chief of the Army Staff, said at Calcutta airport on Tuesday that Pakistan's acquisition of tanks, self-propelled guns and similar other weapons from foreign countries for the "ground staff" had posed a dangerous threat. "With the help of these weapons the Army can come across the border and try to occupy a part of our country," he added. General Vaidya was commenting on Pakistan's acquisition of sophisticated weapons during a brief stopover at the airport on his way from Delhi to the Andamans. He said that Pakistani's acquisition of these weapons was more dangerous than its acquisition of F-16 aircraft or Harpoon missiles. "The Indian army is ready to face any attempt to attack the country and give a fitting reply to any attacker in the western and the northern frontiers. [Text] [Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 11 Apr 84 p 9]

FIRST LINEAR ACCELERATOR--Bangalore, April 5--India has developed its first linear accelerator which is primarily useful in space technology. The high-energy radiography equipment is working at the Rocket Propellant Plant in the ISRC's Vikram Sarabhai Space Centre at Thumba, in Trivandrum. In radiography, solid propellant rocket motors are evaluated under a "non-destructive" testing method. Linear accelerators are also useful in cancer therapy, radiation processing and research applications. Prior to the development of the Indian version, based on the Tata Institute of Fundamental Research know-how, all linear accelerators for industrial or medical use were imported. It is now possible to fabricate this equipment in India at cheaper rates. [Text] [Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 6 Apr 84 p 19]

LETTER FROM KHOMEINI--New Delhi, April 4--Sheikh-ul-Islam, Iranian deputy foreign minister and special envoy of President Khomeini, today had a 45-minute meeting with the prime minister, Mrs Indira Gandhi, and explained to her his country's stand on current initiatives to end the Gulf war. Mr Islam handed over to Mrs Gandhi a letter from President Khomeini. Mrs Gandhi is understood to have expressed her concern over the continuing war and hoped that some way would be found to end the hostilities. The message from the Iranian President has come just before Mrs Gandhi's proposed visit to Libya, Tunisia, Algeria and Egypt. In all these countries she will, among other things, discuss the Iran-Iraq conflict. An envoy of President Hosne Mubarak of Egypt is also in New Delhi. Mr Islam will meet the ministers for commerce and education tomorrow. [Text] [Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 5 Apr 84 p 9]

PLO ENVOY--New Delhi, March 30 (PTI)--Mr Khalid al-Sheikh today called on the president, Mr Zail Singh, at the Rashtrapathi Bhavan and presented a letter from the PLO chairman, Mr Yasser Arafat, appointing him as the ambassador of the Palestine Liberation Organization to India. [Text]
[Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 31 Mar 84 p 1]

WORLD BANK AID--Washington, April 3--The World Bank announced today that India will receive \$315.50 millions (Rs 315.50 crores) to increase the production capacity of oilfields and to finance improvements in water supply and sanitation facilities. The petroleum project will receive \$242.5 millions and is intended to increase the production of mature oilfields in Gujarat. The project will evaluate, through seismic surveys and drilling, the petroleum producing potential of the Cambay basin, a mature, mostly onshore basin of gas and heavy oil fields in western India. The World Bank said this was India's first project to rehabilitate existing fields. In another operation, two credits totalling \$73 millions will finance improvements in the water supply and sanitation facilities in Tamil Nadu. Half the credits will come from the International Development Association (IDA), an affiliate of the World Bank, and half from the IDA special fund.--AP
[Text] [Madras THE HINDU in English 4 Apr 84 p 5]

IDBI LOAN ASSISTANCE--New Delhi, April 3--The Industrial Development Bank of India (IDBI) has decided to liberalise assistance being availed of by small, medium and large industries under its soft loan scheme for modernisation and replacement requirements by raising the annual limit under the bills rediscounting scheme to Rs 3 crores from the present Rs 1.5 crores. The IDBI has also decided to provide modernisation and rehabilitation finance to small and medium enterprises at reduced rates of interest under its refinance scheme. Modernisation assistance will now be provided at 11.5 percent and rehabilitation assistance at 10 percent. Relief will also be provided to the tiny sector and artisans and cottage industries under the composite loans scheme for reducing the rate of interest to 10 percent in backward areas and 12 percent in non-backward areas. [Text] [Madras THE HINDU in English 4 Apr 84 p 7]

SOUTHERN AIR COMMAND--Tiruchi, April 1--A new Southern Air Command is being created and will have its headquarters at Trivandrum, Mr R. Venkataraman, Defence Minister, told newsmen at Tiruchi Airport on Sunday. A combined engine tank manufacturing unit for both Avadi tanks and the armoured personnel carrier tanks at Medak would be started at Avadi. The armoured personnel carrier tank would roll out of the Medak unit by 1988-89. [Text] [Bombay Madras THE HINDU in English 2 Apr 84 p 9]

REMOTE SENSING SATELLITE--The design of the first Indian Remote Sensing Satellite (IRS-LA) to be launched in 1986, and its ground systems has been completed, reports PTI. Besides, development of major indigenous sub-systems is under progress and work on fabrication of structural model is going on at the Hindustan Aeronautics Limited, according to the annual report of the Department of Space for 1983-84. The spacecraft configuration of the satellite has been finalised and an agreement has been signed between the

Indian Space Research Organisation (ISRO) and Licensintorg of the Soviet Union for launch of the satellite on a Soviet launch vehicle. The report says the thermal control system design requirements have been finalised and preliminary model test would be conducted shortly using the structural model for evaluating thermal energy exchange parameters. The initial development of major indigenous sub-systems has been completed in various Indian Space Research Organisation centres. Environmental qualifications of some of the systems is also progressing satisfactorily, according to the report. The satellite will carry two types of payloads including cameras. [Text] [New Delhi PATRIOT in English 5 Apr 84 p 5]

COOPERATION WITH PRC--India and China have reached an agreement on bilateral cooperation in the field of standardisation, reports PTI. A draft agreement of cooperation between the Indian Standards Institution (ISI) and the China Association for Standardisation (CAS) proposes exchange of national standards, information and teaching materials concerning standardisation. A.S. Cheema, acting Director General of ISI, member of the ISI delegation which recently visited China told PTI that the agreement also includes cooperation in respect of quality supervision and inspection (the testing and certification in conformity to standards). Mr Cheema said the agreement, to be formally concluded, has provision to establish and develop cooperation between the two organisations in India and China on the basis of friendship and mutual benefit. [Text] [New Delhi PATRIOT in English 4 Apr 84 p 2]

WEAPONS BAN RATIFICATION--United Nations, March 30 (UNI)--India has ratified the convention on prohibitions or restrictions on the use of certain conventional weapons which may be deemed to be excessively injurious or to have injurious effects, it was officially stated. India's instrument of ratification was received by the United Nations legal affairs office this month, a UN press statement said on Wednesday. The convention was concluded in October 1980 and entered into force four months ago. It contains three protocols, dealing with: ban on weapons designed to injure by fragments that escape x-ray detection in the human body mines, booby traps and other devices and incendiary weapons. [Text] [New Delhi THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 31 Mar 84 p 7]

AITUC-PRC VISIT PLANS--New Delhi, April 11--The pro-Soviet All-India Trade Union Congress has accepted an invitation from China to send a delegation to that country. This unexpected development took place last month when a delegation of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions, led by its chairman, Mr Ni Zhisu, visited Delhi at the invitation of INTUC. During his stay here, Mr Ni set aside all political reservations and paid a visit to the AITUC office also. The initiative obviously was to re-establish contact between the two trade union bodies, snapped after the split in the Indian trade union movement on pro-Soviet and pro-China lines. Mr Ni extended an invitation to AITUC to send a delegation to his country. The AITUC accepted the invitation. It is expected that an AITUC team will go towards the end of the year. The initiative is of significance to the efforts for a Soviet-China detente. [Text] [Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 12 Apr 84 p 22]

NAGA EXTREMISTS' MASSACRE--Kohima, April 11--Insurgents massacred 300 adult males of Mutang village in North Burma in the first week of March for refusing to cooperate with rebels belonging to the pro-Beijing National Socialist Council of Nagaland, reports PTI quoting delayed official reports from across the border. According to these reports received today, a large group of NSCN extremists surrounded the village, asked all male members to line up and shot dead all of them, in order to "teach a lesson" for not cooperating with the rebels in the matter of "tax collection, donation of rations and recruitment." The reports said the villagers of Mutang had repeatedly refused to help the rebels in any way for at least one month before the massacre took place in an area of North Burma opposite the Tuen-sang district of Nagaland. [Text] [Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 12 Apr 84 p 1]

REPUBLICAN PRESIDENT DIES--New Delhi, April 9--Mr B.K. Khobragade, president of the Republican Party of India (K) and former member of the Rajya Sabha, died here today following a cardiac arrest, reports PTI. He was 59. Mr Khobragade served as the Deputy Chairman of the Rajya Sabha in 1970-72. He is survived by his wife. [Text] [Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 10 Apr 84 p 1]

LOAN FOR RAILWAYS--New Delhi, April 9--The World Bank will give a loan of \$280 millions (Rs 280 crores) for the Railways for electrification and modernisation of workshops. The loan, which will cover, among other things, the cost of modernisation and expansion of the integral Coach Factory and the Golden Rock workshop, is repayable in 50 years and carries 11 percent interest. The loan will be utilised for electrification of 3,044 km of track on (i) Jhansi-Itarsi-Nagpur, (ii) Wardha-Vijayawada, (iii) Bhopal-Nagda, (iv) Itarsi, Nagpur (on another route), (v) Nagpur-Durg, (vi) Bina-Katni-Anupur and (vii) Anupur-Bilaspur sections. This programme is part of a much bigger, Rs 1,600-crore scheme which the railways has drawn up for being completed during 1980-90. The World Bank loan will meet part of the cost of the modernisation of the ICF, Perambur, for raising its production capacity from the present level of 750 coaches a year of broad gauge, metre gauge and electrical multiple units to 850 in the first phase to 1000 in the second phase. The other workshops which will be covered by the World-Bank-financed modernisation programme are Jagadhri (Punjab), Ajmere, Khargpur, Parel (Maharashtra), and Golden Rock (Tamil Nadu). The loan will cover the cost of imports mainly of machinery, conductors and cables. Mr K.T.V. Raghavan, Chairman, Railway Board, and Mr A.V. Poulose, Financial Commissioner for Railways, have recently visited Washington for discussions with the World Bank and for the negotiation of the loan. [Text] [Madras THE HINDU in English 10 Apr 84 p 9]

ANTARCTICA MAP--Calcutta, April 8 (UNI)--India has become the first nation in the world to prepare a detailed geological map of the Schirmachar hill forming part of oasis mountains in Antarctica. Dr (Miss) Sudipta Sengupta, a geologist member of India's third Antarctica expedition team and her colleagues prepared a map of the mountains, rechristened "Dakshin Gangotri Hills" on 1:25,000 scale. She would shortly send the complete sketch to

the Department of Ocean Development (DOD) for publication. "So far no other country has published any map of the mountains," she said. Dr Sengupta, who returned here on 1 April from a 66-day expedition in the ice continent told UNI that they had mapped the 20 km long and 2.7 km wide mountainous range both geologically and geomorphologically showing the possible mineralised zones. During the second expedition, the geologists had mapped an area of 4.5 square km of the hills on 1:10,000 scale using plane table survey. [Text] [New Delhi PATRIOT in English 9 Apr 84 p 5]

EASTERN NAVAL COMMANDER--Vice Admiral J.G. Nadkarni on Sunday took over as Flag Officer Commanding-in-Chief eastern naval command, Visakhapatnam, according to an official release, reports UNI. A graduate of the Defence Services Staff College, Wellington and Naval War College in the USA, Vice Admiral Nadkarni is a recipient of the Ati Vishisht Seva Medal, the Vishist Seva Medal (VSM) and Nau Sena Medal (NM) for rendering distinguished service to the Indian Navy. [Text] [New Delhi PATRIOT in English 9 Apr 84 p 5]

CSO: 4600/1790

FORMER NAVY COMMANDER ON IRAN'S FOREIGN, DOMESTIC POLICIES

London AL-MAJALLAH in Arabic No 216, 31 Mar 84 pp 22-24

[Interview with Admiral Ahmad Madani by AL-MAJALLAH; Paris, date not specified]

[Text] Those who know Ahmad Madani, the former Iranian Navy commander, regard him as a very keen strategist. He knows how to wait, how to keep calm, and how to plunge into political and military battles. Since he resigned from the State Council in September 1980 after delivering a fiery speech, he became persona non grata. That night, at the end of the summer of 1980, he fled from Iran across the Turkish border to Germany, leaving behind everything, even his identity card, and requesting political asylum. He has not spoken for 4 years and he lives without military protection, unlike other Iranian leaders scattered about in the United States, Germany and France and surrounded by police, whatever their ideology, for Admiral Madani is a fatalist.

In the first interview with Admiral Madani in 4 years, he says: "There can be no victor and no vanquished in the Iraqi-Iranian war. We are all Muslims and we are all helpless." He also says: "Khomeyni's goal is not to annex Iraq physically but to create a government led by Hojjat ol-Eslam Mohammad Baqer al-Hakim.

On the 15th of next month Iran will again elect 260 deputies to the State Council. It appears that the electoral battle will be violent because of the differences between those who follow Khomeyni and want the social structure of the revolution to continue and the conservatives in the Assembly of Experts and men of religion whose headquarters are in Qom. The dispute is over moderation, for both sides are religious extremists. In Iran today, all the moderate parties are outside of the game. The parties and leaders who participated in the revolution have been pushed aside, more precisely, forbidden to participate. Some of them have been executed (Qotbzadeh) and most of them are in exile (Bani-Sadr, Rajavi, Madani) while Tudeh is in jail (Nureddin Kianuri). The bazaar merchants and the majority of the survivors of the Iranian Liberation Front still in the country are working silently or almost silently.

Five years after the establishment of the Khomeyni regime, something happened in Tehran University that recalls the beginning of the revolution,

the day when pictures of Khomeyni were posted and the shah's men rushed to burn them and jail those who posted them. Last Friday afternoon when worshippers came to the campus of Tehran University to pray, they were surprised to see a huge picture of Mas'ud Rajavi hanging from the roof of a building overlooking the campus. The picture remained there for 2 hours and thousands of people gathered around it until the Pasdaran (watchmen) with the help of firemen managed to rush over and remove it from the roof.

The picture incident is clear evidence that those who carried out the revolution, made sacrifices for it, and suffered persecution for the sake of it are prepared to return and that their supporters inside the country, despite the 40,000 executions in the past 5 years, are still waiting for a suitable time to act. The picture that was hung in Tehran University also means that some people have adopted Mas'ud Rajavi's view that the war with Iraq must be halted.

Mas'ud Rajavi is not the only Iranian leader striving for this goal. Admiral Ahmad Madani, "prince of the sea" as he was called by Iranian Navy men when he was their chief, keeps sending message after message to the United Nations, international organizations, western countries, and Tehran and Qom urging everyone there to stop the killing between the brother Muslims.

Admiral Madani said in a previous interview in the spring of 1980: "The shah used to play the role of 'Gulf policeman'. This role has ended and it is not necessary for a single country to be responsible for the security of the entire Gulf region."

The man who is almost 54 years old left the Iranian Navy command in the shah's time and was forbidden to leave the country. He returned to the navy when the revolution began in order to protect its unity and prevent its collapse. In September 1979, he decided in his capacity as a military official and without consulting Qom that the fleet should return to its bases in Bandar 'Abbas, Kharg Island, and Khorramshahr. This was after the minister of defense resigned and was replaced by another minister, Mostafa 'Ali Chamran.

A systematic campaign was waged against Madani since that decision. But the campaign did not affect his popularity in the Khuzestan region where he once was the governor nor did it influence the moderates and bazaar merchants who saw in him the savior after the lack of discipline and the security excesses that took place during the annihilation of the revolutionaries. However, Khomeyni saw in the power of this man a threat to his revolutionary line. He therefore passed out a secret word on the eve of the presidential elections in which Admiral Madani was a candidate. The word was "Bani-Sadr." Did the revolution make a mockery of the presidential elections?

After 4 years the military man who moves between Germany and France throws light on what happened and says his friends have reports that confirm it.

In a long interview with AL-MAJALLAH held in a modest apartment in Paris and with great caution and yearning for the old relationship he had with the sea and his men, Admiral Ahmed Madani talked about Iran and the revolution, the war and Khomeyni, the American-Iranian contacts, from Neauphle-le-Chateau until the present, Soviet centers of power in Iran, a fair approach to halting the Iraqi-Iranian war, and about his hope of Iran's returning to the Arab world and of his hope of returning to Iran.

Rational and Orderly

[Question] Why do you work in silence?

[Answer] Because I am rational and orderly and I do not want the struggle to be in the newspapers, radio loudspeakers, and other information media. We must define what we want and how to get it, what goals we want to achieve, and what the values are for which we are fighting. When we think of all this, the media noise becomes very faint in comparison to the [true] contest.

[Question] But you can't deny that Neauphle-le-Chateau created the "Khomeyni symbol."

[Answer] We must not minimize the importance of the Neauphle-le-Chateau stage in the life of the Iranian revolution and Khomeyni's fame, but by the same token, we must not exaggerate it for Khomeyni and those around him knew how to exploit the Western media. This group of intellectuals know how to choose their information channels and make front page news and magazine covers. In general, the time has not yet come to uncover our cards and any outcry now could frustrate our contest.

[Question] On what are you betting?

[Answer] I am betting on the victory of a revolution whose foundations are rationality, sensitivity and feelings for others, justice, tolerance, and equality. These were the goals of the revolution and what we were striving for before it became distorted. I still believe in the revolution and am still part of it, but I am in a constant battle to challenge the deviation deviationists.

[Question] The day you were defeated in your bid to become president of the republic, some said Khomeyni was behind Bani-Sadr's success just as he was behind Bani-Sadr's removal. Exactly what happened?

[Answer] The Iranian people voted for me. They wanted me as president because mine is the way of moderation. A revolution usually has two phases. A destructive phase is the first phase and it cannot last more than 3 weeks. A building phase is the second. My way was to rebuild on the basis of broad nationalism. But the problem was Khomeyni and the extremist advisors and men of religion around him. Their policy rested on extremism and thirst for revenge for everything, even against each other, and we therefore did not agree.

[Question] Was Bani Sadr one of them?

[Answer] I don't believe Bani-Sadr is a religious fanatic or traditionalist, but in those days he acted like an extremist and claimed to be a follower of this line. Unfortunately, even the communists who have no ties to Khomeyni claimed at that time to be close to him and followers of his line. This is the ridiculous side of politics and, regrettably, a tragic side. A politician acts as though he believes in some theory, persuading everyone that it is the truth but confessing to himself that it is a purely political tactic.

This political tactic is not designed for the sake of the truth. My friends have in their possession (because my house was robbed) reports which confirm that the elections were fraudulent, that the Islamic Republic Party and those close to the authorities altered the course of the elections. They announced that 14 million persons voted and that I received 3.5 million votes while Bani Sadr received 10.5 million votes. The truth is that the actual voters numbered 7.5 million and that I received 4 million votes. The strongest evidence of election fraud is that Khomeyni and the men of religion around him immediately after the elections offered as a kind of compensation to make me prime minister. Rather, I wanted to be prime minister of the Iranian people. That is why the challenge began. I criticized the revolution and its deviation and the way in which they were forcing the people to practice Islam. These were not the true principles of the revolution for which we sacrificed. The lines were altered and replaced and the values were different. After that they tried to remove me from my popular base in Kerman when I was put up as a candidate in the parliamentary elections, but they failed. Inside Parliament in Tehran I became convinced that I would be unable to speak and that my speeches would be censored by the men of religion, so I resigned. They began to pursue me in order to kill me and so I fled to begin the struggle anew.

His Dreams and Thoughts

[Question] You met Khomeyni several times. What did he say to you? How does he think? What were his dreams?

[Answer] The dominating characteristic of Khomeyni is his religiosity. Everything in life is tied up with religion. As for the values Khomeyni believes in, he thinks that whatever he does is right. Of course as far as we are concerned, however, what he does has no connection with logic--it is quite close to extremism and irrationality--because we cannot forget we are living in the 20th century and not in the 7th. I met Khomeyni when I was the navy commander and governor of the Kuzestan region. I always insisted that he behave with moderation and tolerance, but he always said to me, especially when I spoke to him about the executions, "Some people must be executed. We must restore the (traditional) upbringing of the Iranians, correct Islamic upbringing, and this cannot be done except by force." My answer always was that we want to reform and build, not tear down. He would say to me: "The people must believe in the principles of the revolution that we made." My answer was that faith in revolutions

cannot be imposed by force. And he would say to me in defense of his Islam: "Our Islam is special, it is a civilized Islam and suitable for daily life. It must be the pivot of all our actions however insignificant they may be."

[Question] Didn't he talk to you as navy commander about his ambitions in Iraq?

[Answer] To begin with, I do not believe Khomeyni desires to annex Iraq physically, but he will try to impose upon it a Shi'ite Islamic government perhaps with Hojjat-of Eslam Mahammad Baqer al-Hakim as president. There are 8 million Iraqi Shi'ites living in Iraq and they form a majority of the country's population. Moreover, Khomeyni does not understand tactics, planning and strategy. He does not know how the navy functions or how an army engages in battle. But he always told me that I must be alert and make sure that anyone serving in the Iranian Navy must be a true Muslim and by Muslim he meant his kind of Muslim.

[Question] So who is conducting the war today? Who has the authority? Who gives or cancels orders?

[Answer] The war, unfortunately, is not against Khomeyni and his men but against the Iranian people. In this war there can be no victor and no vanquished. It is a war in which both sides will be defeated and losers. because they are destroying their countries and people, and their oil and other vital installations. Even more important, they are our brothers in Islam. The only beneficiaries are Israel and the countries that receive dollars for arms.

[Question] Iraq has asked several times that the war stop and Islamic governments have intervened and often offered to serve as mediators, but the Iranians invariably refused or set impossible conditions.

[Answer] Although I am a patriot, I object to the Iranian government's stand. I believe this war must come to an end.

A Baffling Puzzle

[Question] As long as we are talking about the beneficiaries of the war, Israel and arms merchants, can you explain this puzzle: How is it that the Iranian revolution closed the Israeli embassy and gave its keys to Abu 'Ammar and called it the Palestinian embassy, trains its youths in PLO camps in southern Lebanon, and sets as one of its goals the liberation of Jerusalem using the slogan "The road to Jerusalem passes through Karbala'," then buys arms and spare parts from Israel? Is Jerusalem to be liberated by Zionist arms?

Admiral Madani paused a long time at this question and tried to avoid answering it. He finally laughed and said:

[Answer] What you said is true, but they buy the arms indirectly in the black market.

[Question] You speak with the logic of the Phalangist Party.

[Answer] But is there proof of their buying arms directly?

[Question] I ask you this question.

[Answer] The arms are bought indirectly. Iraq buys from the Americans, the French, and the Russians. It is war!

[Question] Iran also obtains arms from Italy, Germany, and France.

The admiral interrupted, apparently wanting to terminate the argument.

[Answer] Why should we argue about the sources of arms? I hate these arms which kill both sides. What is important is to try to end the war. As far as I am concerned, there is no difference between American, Russian, and Israeli arms. But I am sure of one thing: The road to Jerusalem does not pass through Karbala'.

[Question] What suggestions do you have for ending the war?

[Answer] I suggest that both sides agree to a cease-fire and that an international force be stationed along the Iraqi-Iranian borders from Khuzestan to Kurdistan to separate the combatants. After that, negotiations about reparations could begin. It is assumed that these reparations will be sensible. Then there could be a peace agreement based on mutual understanding and a good neighbor policy.

[Question] Do you believe such a peace can be achieved at this time?

[Answer] According to what I see and imagine, such a peace is impossible under the auspices of the Khomeyni and Saddam Huseyn regimes because both are extremist in some form or other. I do not pass judgment on either regime, but I criticize both together because they are responsible for the destruction that has taken place in their countries.

[Question] How would you characterize the war? Is it an Islamic, religious war, as some claim, or is it a political war?

[Answer] The Iraqi-Iranian war, as I see it, is not a religious war nor does what takes place at the front have anything to do even remotely with Islam. The two sides acquired support by altering the facts and using Islam to reach the people. One calls the other a false god, while the other charges it with being a Magian, and millions of people crushed by the war fall victim to blind religious fanaticism. The revolution that broke out from Iran 5 years ago cannot be imprisoned within it. It is the possession of the world.

The Revolution Has Lost Its Way

[Question] But this does not mean it is to be exported by force and interference in the affairs of other countries. Then the revolution you

are speaking about consumed you. Let us go back 4 years. Where is Bani-Sadr? Rajavi, Taleqani, Shari'atmadari, and Beheshti? Where is Sadeq Qotbzadeh and Yazdi and Engineer Bazargan? This revolution consumed everyone who was close to it.

[Answer] True. That is why I said that what remains today is not the revolution but a deviation from it. The true Iranian revolution that was based on values has lost its way. When I say I am against this form of revolution, it does not mean I am against the revolution. I worked for it and believe in it. I believe in its essential principles and believe it belongs to the world, provided that the world comes to it and that we do not export it by force and blood.

[Question] What is the real ruler of Iran today?

[Answer] There are two trends in Iran today. One is extremist and the other moderate. They are competing with each other rather than governing.

[Question] Who will win in the end?

[Answer] It is the time of revolutionary extremism. At first we moderates and intellectuals believed that we had won and that the religious extremists would return to their mosques and leave the government to its people. But after a few months we saw the men of religion governing Iran and we lost the battle, but we will not surrender.

[Question] Why did you lose even though you bazaaris, Iranian Liberation Front, Tudeh, Mojaheddin-e Khalq, Feda'iye Khalq, intellectuals etc. were stronger? Was there some powerful force that helped the men of religion to remove you? What was their objective in gaining control? What did the United States agree so readily to getting rid of the shah?

[Answer] Admittedly, we lost as moderates because we were not alert enough. Instead of challenging the men of religion, the reverse happened. The revolution was deeply rooted in the people of Iran and its outbreak had nothing to do with the desires of the United States, and perhaps the desires of both were in agreement. The Americans wanted to get rid of the shah because he no longer heeded them and began to grow strong and act independently, becoming a danger in the region and no longer acting as the reliable "policeman" but they did not make the revolution. The Americans did not reject the shah because of his corruption. On the contrary, they sometimes contributed to it. I do not believe American policy is based on moral principles. The Americans observed that the people no longer wanted the shah, so they took advantage of the situation and provided assistance to them.

[Question] How?

[Answer] By propaganda. The "Voice of America" continuously broadcast news items issued by the revolutionaries. So did the BBC and American,

German, and French television. Their spotlighting Neauphle-le-Chateau made Khomeyni a worldwide symbol, hastening his rise and the shah's fall.

Military Assistance

[Question] What about military assistance? Did the United States or any other country, the USSR for example, help the Iranian revolution with arms?

[Answer] No arms were needed at first. Most of the military commanders were with us. I was the navy commander and favored the revolution.

[Question] Did they help you diplomatically?

[Answer] Of course. They helped us a great deal.

[Question] Did Khomeyni know that? Did he have contacts with the Americans?

The admiral paused a few moments and then went on.

[Answer] Yes, Khomeyni knew that. He had contacts with the Americans. The liaison officers were Yazdi, Qotbzadeh, and Bani-Sadr. They were in touch with some military men and diplomats.

[Question] So the United States blessed the revolution?

[Answer] They did at first, but they did not make it.

[Question] And the Soviet Union?

[Answer] The soviet Union also supported the revolution.

[Question] Why did the Russians and Americans concur in assisting a revolution whose slogan was "neither East nor West?"

[Answer] The Russians and Americans usually provide short-term and long-term services and keep trying to attract to their view countries suffering from deprivation. Their assistance was simply an attempt at attracting Iran to those views.

[Question] Who eventually got the business?

[Answer] Partly the Soviet Union. But the United States and the West restored some of their relations with Iran when the war began.

[Question] Let us go back to the American contacts. Did you share in them?

[Answer] In those days I was forbidden to leave Iran and unable to get in touch with Khomeyni directly. But I participated indirectly with some of those whom I met inside Iran.

[Question] Why does Khomeyni deny today that before and during the revolution he had contacts with the Americans and call America the "greater Satan?"

[Answer] The American people are one thing and the American policy and administration another. When I said "contacts with the Americans" I meant the people. All of them are not evildoers and exploiters.

Khomeyni and the United States

[Question] But weren't Khomeyni's contacts with the American administration rather than with the people?

[Answer] Indirectly. When Khomeyni says he was not in contact with Americans, he means that he was not in personal or direct touch with them. He never saw an American official.

[Question] What is the difference between Carter coming to Neauphle-le-Chateau to sit down with Khomeyni and Yazdi or Qotbzadeh going to him and then returning to tell Khomeyni what went on between them?

The admiral was obviously annoyed by our insistence so he answered shortly.

[Answer] So these contacts were indirect.

[Question] What happens after Khomeyni? Will the emigre parties return? Do you keep in touch and coordinate with one another.

[Answer] It is difficult to imagine what will happen after Khomeyni; but I am afraid Iran will be partitioned. Instability in Iran means instability in the entire region. The emigre parties may return, but we do not keep in touch with each other. I am cautious. Some of them have already declared, even before Khomeyni's death, that the monarchy must be restored while others declared that a democratic republic should be the replacement. None of them expect to return to ask the people of Iran what they want. This is a dictatorship that I reject.

[Question]. As a military leader, can you tell us briefly what the situation of the Iranian Army is today? How large are the forces participating in the battle? How are things managed in the operations room? Who gives the orders and directs the war?

[Answer] I cannot answer the question. This is military information.

[Question] What about the Iranian Navy today?

[Answer] Those in charge of naval matters today are second-level officials directed by Captain Hoseyni, an educated young man but lacking in experience.

[Question] Do you think Khomeyni will carry out his threat to close the Strait of Hormuz?

[Answer] This is illogical talk. Khomeyni will not carry out his threat or close the strait because if he should do so, he would lose all his friends and the vital arteries.

Iran and Afghanistan

[Question] In an exclusive interview, Mr Colby, former head of the C.I.A., told AL-MAJALLAH that he expects Iran will soon become involved in Afghanistan. What do you think?

The admiral paused for a moment and then answered:

[Answer] I do not think so because involvement in Afghanistan means direct involvement with the Russians and I don't believe Iran can conduct another war, especially with the Russians.

[Question] Who is the more influential in Iran today, Moscow or Washington?

[Answer] What the regime is doing today is giving short-term privileges to the Americans and long-term privileges to the Soviets. Hence, Moscow is more influential than Washington in Iran today.

[Question] What do you think of the triangular relations existing between Iran, Syria, and Libya?

[Answer] I desire relations with all the Arabs, not with some of them, for we are one people and our differences benefit only those who want to damage our interests.

[Question] You lived under both the Shah's regime and Khomeyni's regime. Which was better?

The admiral smiled derisively and his eyes filled with sadness. He ended the interview by saying:

[Answer] The former was bad, the latter worse.

Admiral Ahmad Madani [boxed item on p 23]

Admiral Ahmad Madani is the former Iranian Navy commander.

He was born in the city of Kerman and is now 54 years old, married, and has two daughters. He graduated from the Naval College in Britain and then went to the United States where he studied 4 years in the War Institute [as published].

He obtained a doctorate in political and economic sciences from Tehran University. He was forced to remain under house arrest in Iran for 7 years in the days of the shah.

He resigned as Iranian Navy commander in November 1979 after he was nominated for the presidency of the republic.

NATIONAL UNITY THREATENED BY CIVIL DISTURBANCES

Paris LE MONDE in French 21 Apr 84 pp 1, 3

[Article by Patrice Claude]

[Text] In July 1983 a wave of racial violence broke out in Sri Lanka. Hundreds of Tamils were killed by Sinhalese demonstrators, and about 100,000 Tamils were driven from their homes. Tension has continued since then between the Tamils, who make up 18 percent of the 15 million people who live on the island. A majority of the Tamils are demanding autonomy or independence. The majority of the total population is made up of Sinhalese.

Colombo--How long will this repetition of the great popular outbreak of fury of July 1983 go on? How many dead will there be this time, after the storm has passed? Everyone in Colombo is asking himself these questions. A consensus on the inevitability of the coming disaster has never appeared so widespread. The entire city of Colombo, in fatalistic mood, buzzes with predictions, each one more dismal than the last. A Tamil leader who is opposed to the partition of the island predicted: "No one will be able to control the next explosion. It will mean civil war." From the Tamil extremists who have fled to India comes the echoing reply: "Unless, of course, the government gives in to our demands."

The Tamil extremists whom we were able to meet in Madras, in the Indian State of Tamil Nadu, freely admit that their strategy will result in future massacres. They say: "Our purpose is to expand the ethnic conflict, politicize, if possible, the Tamil masses from the tea plantations in the center of the island, arm them, and send them to attack the government, so that it will be forced to accept the creation of Eelam, the independent Tamil state."

Therefore, there will be martyrs, "but the cause is worth it." Gazing out to sea, toward Jaffna, the ancient and future capital of Eelam, the young Tamil refugees dream out loud and redesign the map of Sri Lanka. The northern and eastern parts of the island, where the Tamils are in the majority, "will be independent or strewn with Sinhalese corpses." This presents an impossible choice for a Sri Lankan government which is strongly opposed to the partition of the country and is dominated by the interests of the Buddhist, Sinhalese majority.

The mood of the government is as militant as that of the supporters of Tamil independence. The negotiations which began in March 1983 between the different

parties concerned--Tamil secessionists, the government, the opposition, and the Buddhist clergy--are at a standstill, suspended on 20 March until 9 May by President Jayawardene, who is known as "J R" to the Sri Lankans. "J R" no longer even wants to hear talk of limited autonomy for Eelam, and Lallith Athulathmudali, his new, iron-fisted minister of security, has declared "total war against terrorism."

The northern part of the country, and particularly the seething Jaffna Peninsula (with 900,000 Tamils), close to India (35 kilometers away) and so well-suited to excesses of all kinds, has been placed literally under a military administration.

Imposed for 48 hours last week, a curfew in the Jaffna Peninsula has come to an end, but the military forces remain there. About 5,000 soldiers, mostly Sinhalese, like the rest of the army and the police, camp in the stadiums, patrol the countryside, conduct sweeps, check identities, control traffic, and arrest any person suspected of sympathy with the separatists.

Nervous, poorly disciplined, and rarely impartial, the security forces have the reputation of relaxing easily and having a selective sense of duty. Ordinary Tamils say: "When the troublemakers are Sinhalese, the army looks the other way. But when the 'Tigers' (the separatist guerrillas) begin to operate in the area, the army goes wild, shoots at anything that moves, and attacks innocent civilians."

'Training Camps' in India?

It is the Tamil "Tiger" against the Sinhalese "Lion." The people of Sri Lanka, of all ethnic groups and religious faiths, are more sensitive to simple images than to ideologies. In any case this is the view of the young "Tigers," who, as leaders of the separatist movement, are often intellectuals and Marxists. The tiger is a solitary animal, people say. However, the Tamil clans in the northern part of Sri Lanka those who are performing this dance need company. They have money, provided by Tamils living in Europe and the Near East, ideas drawn from the secessionist example in Cyprus, and determined men. They do not have--and this is an advantage for the government--a leader accepted by all*, a single strategy, and firepower worthy of the name. Meanwhile, each separatist group "works on" the Tamil masses within Sri Lanka and overseas, more or less successfully. The Tamils overseas include the 500,000 who are Indian citizens and who were repatriated from Sri Lanka between 1964 and 1981 and the 25-30,000 Tamils who took refuge in Madras and vicinity after the "Black July" of 1983.

* There are six or seven armed, clandestine organizations. The oldest, the most active, and the best organized is the LTTE (Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam). Eelam). The People's Liberation Organization of Tamil Eelam (PLOT) also has a considerable number of members. Its political tendency is reportedly close to that of the PLO [Palestine Liberation Organization]. Smaller but still very active are the TELO (Tamil Eelam Liberation Organization), the TEA (Tamil Eelam Army), and EROS (Eelam Research Organization). TELO, EROS, and the Eelam People's Revolutionary Liberation Organization have just signed an agreement for the "liberation of Eelam."

The separatist clans reportedly already have at least 5,000 "potential combatants," some of whom are reportedly being trained in the State of Tamil Nadu, in southern India. Although these reports are embarrassing for New Delhi, they are confirmed by oral testimony by the "Tigers" themselves. New Delhi has formally denied the reports, but the Colombo government is absolutely convinced that they are true. However, according to the government, the "Tigers" do not amount to thousands of combatants but only hundreds.

Publicly reported at the end of March 1983 by the magazine, INDIA TODAY, this affair of the "terrorist training camps" is seriously poisoning relations between Colombo and New Delhi. For the past 3 weeks the Sri Lankan Parliament has talked of nothing else. Hardly a day passes by that a cabinet minister, including the prime minister, more or less openly accuses Indian Prime Minister Gandhi of helping the "enemies of Sri Lanka" behind the scenes. The leader of the Indian Government was able to repeat that she condemns terrorism, that she respects the sovereignty of Sri Lanka, and that she is opposed to the partition of the island. However, there are few Sinhalese who believe these statements.

Deprived of their parliamentary seats because they refused to remove the idea of an independent Eelam from their list of claims, the leaders of the principal, legal Tamil organization, the Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF) has moved, bag and baggage, to Madras, including even Amir Thalingam, its secretary general, since the suspension of the multi-partite negotiations. Amir Thalingam has been denounced for "collaboration" by the young "Tigers." That was enough to enrage the Sinhalese. However, other things were worse. It is reported in Colombo that "just last week four Sri Lankan Tamils were arrested in Madras with 18 kilograms of gold stolen in the course of an attack on a bank in Sri Lanka. The gold was confiscated and the gangsters were released with a warning. Why?"

In fact, everyone knows the answer to this false question. First of all, as its name indicates, Tamil Nadu means essentially that it is occupied by Tamils, who total nearly 50 million people in all. Quite clearly the sense of community extends to the Tamils of Sri Lanka, whose ancestors came from the Tamil Nadu region. Mrs Gandhi is referring to this dangerous phenomenon of supra-national solidarity when she regularly mentions the repercussions of the Sri Lankan problem on Indian political life. These repercussions are all the less controllable since the administration in power in the State of Tamil Nadu does not belong to the political majority supporting Prime Minister Gandhi.

What Is Mrs Gandhi Going to Do?

During the present, pre-electoral period, neither of the two major Indian parties, of course, wants to appear to have abandoned its Sri Lankan "cousins." At times --how can this be avoided?--there are those who practice demagogic one-upmanship. M G Ramachandran, the former film star who has become the chief minister of the State of Tamil Nadu, is personally not of Tamil ancestry. This has led him at times to exaggerate his Tamil sympathies to some extent. His political opponents do not hesitate to appeal frankly to Mrs Gandhi to send Indian troops "without any further delay" to Colombo "to save the Tamils."

Up to now Mrs Gandhi, the president of the Non-Aligned Movement, has done more than resist these appeals. She has clearly rejected these appeals for war and

regularly calls for the resumption of the negotiations between the various parties. It is said in New Delhi: "We have enough problems with the Punjab, Kashmir, and Pakistan." Not to mention the fact that seizing independence for the Tamils of Sri Lanka by force could well encourage the secessionist ideas expressed in the 1960's by Indian Tamils.

A high official in Mrs Gandhi's office has forcefully stated that one of the scenarios prepared by Tamil exile groups in Madras, according to which the northern part of Sri Lanka would be seized by "revolutionary forces" and a simultaneous declaration of independence would be made, forcing the Indian Army to come to their assistance, "won't stand up." He said: "Neither we nor the Soviets would recognize Eelam. The 'Tigers,' if they try this, will have to take care of it themselves." This has been said in a variety of ways and transmitted by all available means of communications to Sri Lanka. However, the Colombo government remains concerned about this scenario.

Colombo sends emissary after emissary at regular intervals to New Delhi, approaches Washington, and recalls that a defense agreement, signed in 1948, links it to Great Britain. Certain Buddhist leaders passionately advocate the signature of a similar treaty with what they call "the other great Buddhist power in the region"—that is, China. The Indian Government has issued an official warning: "Any attempt by Sri Lanka to sign a military treaty with a foreign power will be regarded by us as a hostile act."

The dominant position of India in South Asia is not in question and, an Indian diplomat adds: "In case they might be tempted to intervene, the Americans would do well to recall the historic example of Bangladesh." Apparently, Washington remembers it. In the space of 3 weeks the Department of State repeated four times that it was not interested in such a treaty with Sri Lanka. The "Tigers" ask: "What is 'President J R' going to do at the White House?" A Sinhalese observer comments ironically: "Look for money and a public meeting with President Reagan to reassure the Sri Lankan people." For his part an American in Colombo predicted: "Perhaps some arms will be provided, but it won't go much farther."

The White House reportedly has even decided not to go ahead with a previously considered project to develop the harbor at Trincomalee into a support and rest center for the U. S. Indian Ocean Fleet. In private Mrs Gandhi's diplomats no longer express doubts that this decision not to develop the harbor has been made.

Rightly or wrongly, Sri Lankans remain convinced that the key to their problem is in Mrs Gandhi's pocket. Therefore, Sinhalese and Tamils are waiting with equal impatience for the forthcoming Indian elections. The Sinhalese hope that, after a new election victory the "great lady of the Third World" will put an end to the activities of the "terrorists" in Tamil Nadu and will even turn the "Tigers" over to the Sinhalese "Lion." The Tamils are betting the other way, that the "socialist mother of the Indian nation" will come massively to the aid of her sons, who are "threatened with genocide" in Sri Lanka. The more reasonable people in both camps don't want Mrs Gandhi to do anything like that. However, as a young Colombo sociologist recalled, "When the imaginations of armed people are unleashed, you will note that very often their sense of reality loses no time in following the same route."